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KEY CULTURAL THEMES IN STORIES OF CREE ELDERS

BY

© BARBARA LADEROUTE

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Key Cultural Themes in Stories of Cree Elders submitted by Barbara Laderoute in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Elementary Education.

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ABSTRACT

Five elders from various locations in northern Alberta, three males and two females, shared ten Cree stories with children from various age groups. The purpose of the study is to analyze and bring together a number of key teachings or themes from these elders. The storytelling sessions were videotaped, and the stories were transcribed and analyzed. All work was done in Cree. The analysis was based on total discourse presentation. The intent of the English translation is to provide a reference for non-Cree readers.

The stories which were shared are called acimowina and they are stories about everyday events, personal histories or experiences. The elders were asked to share culturally relevant stories to be passed onto the younger generation.

There are a total of six key cultural themes from the ten stories. One strong theme supported by all five storytellers is "respect for teachings from elders and parents". We hear this type of statement at many social gatherings or important events.

This is still very important to Cree elders. Another theme is centered around children and it is "the positive and negative ends of child rearing". There was much discussion based on child rearing practices of today and long ago. This theme was supported by four storytellers.

For researchers who are working on this type of study it is important to communicate clear expectations, and to share translations and meaningful interpretation. There is

a need for constant feedback and interaction with the elders.

For educators who work with children who come from a different language group it is important to continually check and recheck for meaningful understanding of content presented. Translation and interpretation happens in communication regardless of the target language used.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Our behaviors, values and world view are very much intertwined in our discourse system. The way we present our "self" to the world is reflected in how we transmit this information to others around us (Bain, 1990, lectures).

Folk stories and narratives have been an integral part of society. For native people the realm of storytelling is an important oral tradition which has been passed down and maintained to the present. Storytelling is very much a part of Cree culture. Tafoya states (1982, p.23), "It must be understood that one of the functions of Native American legends is to provide " schemes" or models of behavior for tribal members". Storytelling has played many roles and functions in native culture; stories are used for entertaining and for transmission of morals, values and beliefs. They are teaching tools for individuals who feel the best way for a child to learn is to listen and share one's personal experiences.

As an avid listener of storytelling I, as a child, learned many lessons from my grandfather's stories. How I knew which values and issues were prevalent in these stories is a mystery to me. We are told we are socialized into a cultural milieu and although each individual may have a slightly different understanding we will still carry a common frame of reference; we share some common beliefs and values. However, there are many unanswered questions. What type of values and beliefs are key to a cultural group? Are they represented in stories and how are they passed on? What are some of the more important cultural values reflected in stories for the purpose of transmission to children? To listen to stories in one's mother tongue is to appreciate a story in totality with a sharing which is not available when a story is translated. I remember how intrigued I was with the stories my grandfather told. It was like stepping inside the story; I got lost with the characters and felt along with them on their journey. My grandfather Johnny was one of the most compelling storytellers. His language was descriptive and magical. I, along with my brothers and sister, would wait in anticipation for him to begin one of his stories.

The elders in their presentation of stories reflect themselves, their own personalities, but also the collective consciousness of Cree people. They are carefully choosing language the way they understand it, as a tool to communicate meaning to the children. This is their way of meaning making, a self reflective process which allows them to choose non-discursive and discursive forms which will pass along the intended meaning of the storyteller (Bain, 1990, lectures). Storytelling is an integral process of entertainment, a value and belief transmitter and an avid disciplinarian in an oral culture.

The purpose of my study is to show the common threads of understanding Cree people project and reflect upon as members of a cultural group. As a parent, teacher and a member of the Cree culture, my aim is to highlight common themes in 10 stories told to children by five Cree elders. Although the stories are based on different settings and characters, the elders express some common threads.

It is important for readers to be aware that there are different forms of Cree storytelling (Brightman, 1989). "Acimowina" in Cree storytelling are stories told about everyday events and happenings. These are the personal stories which are passed down to children from aunts, uncles, grandparents and other community people. These stories are told around campfires, at family celebrations and at other events. Acimowina are stories which may hold a teaching, a lesson which is shared from a personal perspective. As a part of the audience one has the opportunity to empathize with the storyteller. One may have faced a similiar experience in his/her life.

"Atoyokiwina" are spiritual stories which are sacred and are told at special times and/or during the winter season. Elders take this opportunity to work with the youth and pass down the teachings which will help the young people in their growth process. These stories are about spirit helpers and only specific storytellers tell these types of stories. There are lessons involved for the youth and many of these stories denote the types of behavior expected from young people.

The stories used for my thesis work are acimowina. They are personal stories about growing up, hunting trips, work experiences and also personal histories. Atoyokiwina are sacred stories about spirit helpers and are told specifically at a certain time and for a different purpose. My request for stories from the elders was for acimowina. The sharing done by these storytellers is specific to the audience they were catering too. Although some of the stories are long, young children are expected to sit still and listen. In these sessions one learns a number of different skills, the first being the ability to provide a listening ear and visualize the story as it unfolds. The details and descriptions presented in the stories require attentive listening and concentration. The essence of being patient and quiet although your little body is bursting with personal questions is a disciplinary skill. Statements are expected at the end of the session and questions are answered at that time. Alternatively, you could seek out the elder sometime the next day to ask specific questions.

In Chapter two I will provide a brief overview about native people. I will begin with a discussion of the origin of the term "native"and the various legal categories used by the government. The specific lifestyle and cultural information provided will be about the Cree. I will also discuss the theoretical framework I am working from along with the process of interpretation I have used for culture, language translation and reality.

Chapter 2

CONTEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

In this chapter I have included three sections, the first of which involves a brief explanation of the term "native" and how it is used categorically for aboriginal people. I have included specific lifestyle and cultural information about the Cree to contextualize my presentation to the non-native population. The next section covers the theoretical framework I will work from for my analysis of the Cree stories. The final section of this chapter will deal with interpretation of translations since I will have to translate from Cree to English to present my findings.

Native People, Specifically Cree

"Native peoples, also known as aboriginal people, constitute a group of peoples who, as a group, entered North America from Asia long before the arrival of Europeans" (McMillan, 1988, p.1). According to Dickason (1992), "In Canada, "Native" has come to be widely used, but it is not accepted in the United States on the grounds that anyone born in that country is native, regardless of racial orgin" (p.16). What do these people share in common and why are they called "native" peoples, "Indians", or aboriginal peoples collectively? The term "native" has been used to categorize a collective aggregate of peoples; it does not indicate a common or shared culture. The aggregate group is comprised of three specific subgroups of "aboriginal peoples" -- Indians, Inuit and Metis (McMillan, 1988, p.1). The subgroups are different in terms of lifestyle, language and history although they do share a familial bonding as being recognized as a group of peoples different from the European groups. "The term "Indian" is, of course, a misnomer being derived from Christopher Columbus' mistaken belief that he had reached India" (McMillan, 1988, p.1). "Although the term "Indian" is recognized as originating in a case of mistaken identity, it has come to be widely accepted, particularly by the aboriginal people themselves" (Dickason, 1992, p.16).

Varied legal categories have presented difficulties in accounting for population census numbers for this group in Canada. The legal definitions of status Indians and non-status Indians as set out by the federal government have provided us with some numbers. The category of "Metis" people, who for various reasons may also recognize themselves as non-status Indians, further complicates numbers and accuracy of population figures for "native peoples". The Inuit cannot be included in the general category of "Indians" because they have a separate origin, being relatively late arrivals from Asia (McMillan, 1988, p.1)

In 1982 the Department of Indian and Northern Development (Morrison & Wilson, 1986, p.523) estimated that there were 332,178 Indians in Canada. This number refers only to those whom the Federal government recognizes as Indians. In the 1981 census, 98,000 people designated themselves as Metis. The Inuit listed in number 25,370 in the 1981 census. Morrison & Wilson (1986), given that no one knows exactly how many aboriginal peoples there are in Canada, estimate accordingly they number from approximately 500,000 to 3,000,000.

What makes "native people" different from other cultural groups and what makes them group together and present themselves as collectively as they do in behaviors, customs and values? They are a mixture of various linguistic groups ranging from Inuit in the north to Cree in the west, to Mohawk in the east and Blackfoot in the south. According to Darnell (Morrison & Wilson, 1986, p.22), classifications of linguistic family groups range from six (Sapir) to 58 (Powell) to 62 (Campbell & Mithum).

To provide a comprehensive overview which would reflect "native peoples" as a group would be very difficult; therefore this overview will be based on a specific cultural group, the Cree people. The Cree, which is the group involved in this study, is the Algonkian group which number 100,000 according to McMillan (1988,p.3). He states this is by far the largest and most widespread language family in Canada. Cree is spoken from Northern Quebec to the Rockies. The Cree is a large group and consists of Metis, Plains and Woodland Cree people. I have chosen to provide an overview for "Cree" people based on the approach used by Morrison & Wilson (1988, p.12) who state: "an understanding of native peoples must start from an appreciation of aboriginal society as it existed and as it continues, in its own terms and not as an appendage to that larger conglomeration of peoples and provinces that we call Canada". In this instance it will be information on Cree society as it existed and as it continues. "It is a fundamental anthropological premise that cultures are best understood, that behavior is meaningful, within their own frameworks" (Morrison & Wilson, 1988, p.13). I understand and find Cree culture meaningful and would hesitate to present information about another cultural group such as the Inuit culture because I do not belong to that group. "One cannot comprehend, far less evaluate or judge, behaviour grounded in one cultural system by the standards of another" (Morrison & Wilson, 1988, p.13). The data I present from specific authors is meaningful and presents cultural lifestyle descriptions which reflect how we as a specific cultural group symbolize our values and beliefs through non-discursive and discursive symbols in stories, behaviors and customs.

The Cree people, comprised of Plains, Woodland and Metis people, are as varied within their own group as the variety of linguistic families in a given area. The plains Cree from the Saddle Lake area to the Woodland Cree from Cadotte Lake to the Metis people from the Gift Lake settlement share some common bonds because we all speak and understand the same language, Cree. Although there may be small dialect differences, the terms are understood in contextual presentations by all three groups.

We talk about the culture of a group of people but to understand the symbolization of culture for a group we must look at how the people face reality. According to Cassirer (1956) "life is an ultimate and self dependent reality" (p.23). We talk about shared cultural values and beliefs; these are the symbolic understandings we have come to accept and integrate as part of our world views and life meaning (Cassirer, 1956). In order for us to identify with a specific cultural group, there must be shared symbolic understanding and behaviors. Humans have the ability to symbolize, the ability to constantly reshape our universe. Therefore, culture is not constant but with the use of symbolic memory we repeat some of our past cultural experiences and use whatever knowledge we have to reconstruct this experience and adapt to a situation (Cassirer, 1956). The data to be presented in this study will describe past experiences, lifestyles and behaviors which have influenced and reshaped Cree culture as it is today. Remnants of the past will provide the reader with insight into culture as reflected today by Cree people.

To illustrate, I will consider the discursive symbolic representational term which translates to Cree Indian. As a

Cree Indian, "nihiyaw", I come from an expression of my own body and being, "niyaw". This word is found in the term "nihiyaw". The "ni" is a first person singular form and the term for body is "miyaw". We drop the "mi" and add the "ni" and therefore "niyaw" means my body. The cultural group I belong to are called "nihiyawak", pluralized to constitute more than one. The language we use to express our symbolic meaning to others is called "nihiyawiwin". We use this language to express our own reflection and subconscious being to our own cultural group and to others whom we call "moniyaw" which could mean "not my body or being" derived from two terms, "namoya nihiyaw" which would also be interpreted to mean he/she is not an expression of myself, he/she is not like an Indian and he/she is not specifically like a Cree.

Our way of symbolizing through our language is distinctly different and it influences our behaviors, values and beliefs as much as we use it to reflect what we feel we are all about to others. The language is suited to our environment, our connection to nature and our adaptability. The terms are very much interconnected with how we view reality. Another example which readily shows this is the term "wapahki", if there is a tomorrow, which indicates that we do not believe we are in control of whether we have a tomorrow. The term denotes there is a greater being who is in charge of our lives, the Creator. Cree is an oral language which promotes many oral traditions because of its quality. We transmit, learn, portray and reflect ourselves differently from a literate society. The flow of the Cree language is distinctly different in intonation, speed and pause time. All languages carry a distinct quality difference even when two are related and from the same language family.

Within the confines of our shared reality as Cree people we have many varied observable and talked-about behaviors which are not shared by others. Our spiritual oneness with nature and the environment provides us with a distinct reaction and attitude towards nature, man and technology.

Dorothy Smallboy of Smallboy's camp has a simple philosophy she follows: "All life is sacred. The Creator owns our bodies and our spirits so we have to take good care of them in His name. But he did give us one thing that's ours - our mind. We choose what we make of ourselves with our minds" (Meili,1991, p.110). This powerful statement supports the interpretative framework that we symbolize the important values, beliefs and philosophy we choose to follow as Cree people.

Rose Auger, a personal acquaintenance from Driftpile, describes it in the following manner: "We have to relate to what's around us - be it a tree, a blade of grass, or clear spring water" (Meili, 1991, p. 23). This statement reflects the sense of humility many Cree elders portray in their daily lives. Rose Auger is the type of woman who is influential and plays many roles in the lives of her people. She goes on to say, "It's not hard to figure out that we have to create another way of sustaining ourselves. Indians especially have to keep our earth intact. If we have no more land, we cannot carry out our religion, our traditional ways. We cannot even pick medicine plants" (Meili, 1991, p.21). This connection to nature promotes a respect for all living things on mother earth including animals and plant life. This type of existence and connection to nature is being threatened in our society today and many elders make reference to it in conversation dialogues and stories.

Albert Lightning of Hobbema talks about it this way: "Albert talked a lot about natural law. He said that humans' inner natures are an exact copy of the nature of the universe, and deep knowledge of the self comes from nature. Western society's materialism and technology is unnatural to the point that many people are unaware of natural cycles and energies and even fear insects, animals, trees, and birds. As humans become unbalanced so does the world" (Meili, 1991, p.83).

In a personal conversation with Rose Auger in the summer of 1992 she talked about the spider and how it works earnestly to try to help us maintain balance on the earth by weaving as many webs as it can. She told me the spider has been very busy, you will see many, many webs all over. Our way of life and how we establish our relationship with nature is influenced by our spiritual beliefs. The way we put back what we take from the earth involves a mutual respect, a shared philosophy.

Our extended family situation, whereby we choose to adopt and care for many familial members such as grandchildren, is hard to understand if you are from another cultural group. Our shared view of responsibility is to care for, maintain and establish boundaries for the extended family. Our roles, our limitations, and expected behaviors are defined by the family and cultural patterns established by the group. Abbie Burnstick of the Paul Band reserve who was raised by her grandmother reminisces about her experiences, "We moved in with my grandparents. I guess I was still in a mossbag because I've seen a picture of my dad holding me before he died" (Meili, 1991, p.140). She goes on to talk about the different skills she was taught as a child by her grandmother. Abbie also talks about how she used to go hunting with her .22 to get a wild chicken or rabbit. She expresses how much she enjoyed eating this wild meat (Meili, 1991). The extended family is still very much a part of the Cree way of life as it exists today. In many small communities it is not uncommon for a child to be raised by grandparents or relatives.

We talk about the importance of self-esteem and selfconfidence but pride is also important. As a child growing up, although I was faced with many problems and disappointments, my father taught me to do things well and to the best of my ability. When we follow this teaching we are full of pride because other people will appreciate what we have done. This philosophy is still evident with Cree people for whom this belief is an integral part of their cultural system. These individuals will not 'toot their own horns' but will allow other people to do it for them when they have developed skills and expertise within a specific field. Elders and others in the community will recognize what they have accomplished. As members of the Cree group we understand we are all responsible for how we portray ourselves and how we gain recognition within our own group. This attitude influences how we live our lives and attend to our daily living rituals. 'Whatever you do, do it well and the rest will be taken care of. Your pride will swell when you hear others talk about your capabilities.'

The Cree people, without underestimating the importance of thought and emotion, place great importance and reliance on action. Abbie Burnstick states, "The Creator gave each person a special talent, and if they are in touch with their spirit and know their special work on this earth they will flourish" (Meili, 1991, p.143). It seems from a Cree point of view it is important to be busy doing what it is we were meant to do. As a result even our language reflects this feeling of action and use of specific talents. Our language is based more on the verb rather than the noun and our terms are action terms designating an event immediately taking place. These terms make up a large part of our daily conversations.

Hospitality was very important. The expression of hospitality involved sharing the food on your table; a meal followed soon after people arrived from a journey. Christine Horseman of Horselake reserve notes, "People still get together for feasts these days, but in my time they even got together to go get food. We'd all take our wagons and teams and head for the bush. A few people would get moose, and we'd make dry meat together. That was fun. When somebody killed a moose, everybody heard about it and everybody got their share. I thought it would go on forever" (Meili, 1991, p. 199).

Storytelling was very much a part of everyday life. Abbie Burnstick tells a story about a groundhog. "Her story speaks to parents who don't realize how much they oppress their children out of what they think is love but really is selfishness. These legends all have a meaning that shows how we are sometimes" (Meili, 1992, p. 134). Stories told to us when we were children taught us behaviors which were expected of us, behaviors we were expected to change or values the parents wanted us to hold onto. When I was a child whenever I or my siblings had indulged in some negative behaviors, coincidently the story my grandfather told would have a similiar storyline or character.

Theoretical Framework for Analysis of Cree Stories

The theoretical framework for my thesis is derived from my understanding of theories of symbol, language and culture. The work of John-Steiner and Tatter (1983), Vygotsky (1962), Steiner (1975) and Bain (1987) are all quoted in this framework. As a basis, I use an interactionism, sociogenesis theme. As humans, we make our reality with symbols in accordance with the environment. To share ourself with others, our uniqueness and internal meaning, we use symbols and signs. As members of the human race we have the capability to arrange, remove and create representations for ourselves to reflect our own ontogeny. Our cognitive, linguistic and ontogenetic growth (internal) is continually interacting with society and the environment (external). We engage in the action of symbolizing for the purpose of mediating between ourselves and what is around us. As Bain (1987) states, "Behaviorly, humans do not deal with objects and events in the world; they deal with projections of their own making" (p.271). The way we make meaning for ourselves is based on our own projections. This, in turn, is dependent on our cognitive growth and the discursive and non-discursive contextual presentation of symbols from our caregivers and the people around us.

As Vygotsky (1962), a leader of interactionism, states, "it is the Second Signal System that provides the means whereby man creates a mediator between himself and the world of physical stimulation so that he can react in terms of his own symbolic conception of reality" (p.x). Mankind uses signal systems as representations. This is our way of knowing ourselves and what is within our environment. As Britton (1970), a follower of Vygotsky, notes," we habitually create representations of one kind or another of the things we meet in the actual world in order to use them in making sense of fresh encounters - in suggesting all this I am putting forward a view of human behavior, or one way of representing what goes on in man's transaction with his environment" (p.13). Human nature, in the quest for reality, creates representations which will reflect meaning and individuality. Each and every individual will represent reality in a unique manner and the challenge for humans has been to get meaning across in a subjective and objective way symbolically so others will understand.

The use of symbol-signs allows us the opportunity to externalize ourselves from the environment and to internalize ourselves as subjects and objects of experience (Bain, 1987). Bain, building on Vygotsky, specifies the use of symbol-signs in the following manner, "humans perceive their symbol-signs (and given a certain stage of ontogenesis) can perceive themselves perceiving those symbol-signs and thereby decide on a course of action" (p.271). It is important to note that this use of symbol-signs is seen as an intellectual capability mediated by interaction between the individual and society. Vygotsky (1962) states, "his is a mediational point of view. Concepts and the language that infuses and instruments them give power and strategy to cognitive activity. The capacity to impose superordinate structures in the interest of seeing things more simply and deeply is seen as one of the powerful tools of human intelligence" (p.ix). The ability to see signs and symbols as tools of how we make meaning is a highly sophisticated skill.

As thought and speech are separate entities, the integration of these creates language forms, word meanings, which in turn becomes what Vygotsky calls verbal thought. "Verbal thought is not an innate, natural form of behavior but is determined by a historical-cultural process and has specific properties and laws that cannot be found in the natural forms of thought and speech" (Vygotsky, 1962, p.51). Language is an external tool, a symbol to represent our internalized meaning. Since it is a tool, we can separate ourselves from language. According to Montagu (1967), "man is what he is because of his capacity to create in his mind, by the use of symbols, an idea about something which has no existence outside his mind, and with that idea proceed to create something according to the instructions given or the pattern constituted by that idea" (p.446). We create, reflect, and show ourselves to others through the symbol form we call language. We choose specific language forms to present an idea, a feeling or an unconscious thought.

Man with his use of symbol signs adapts to his environment and his sense of reality. We make (create) our own realities. As Stein (1983) notes, "reality is as we desire it to be" (p.395). Vygotsky (1962) states, "from our point of view, the drive for the satisfaction of needs and the drive for adaptation to reality cannot be considered separate from and opposed to each other. A need can be truly satisfied only through a certain adaptation to reality" (p.21).

Our adaptation as human beings does not end here. The symbolic creation of culture is what Montagu (1967) calls "the new zone of adaptation" (p.447). He notes as human beings we become a part of a culture through what he calls "cultural conditioning" (p.447). He makes a general statement that what we learn from society is culture. It involves our use of symbol signs. As Bain (1987) puts it, "collectively and individually, humans use symbol-signs to make their own futures (and not infrequently, to re-make their pasts), because the means of doing so -- symbol-signs -- is a self-dependent reality" (p.271). Montagu (1967) notes, "the human world, the world man has created, is the world of meanings, of symbols, and their realization" (p.447). This realized meaning is what we humans call culture or civilization. It is a creation, an encompassing rationale which governs our ideas, way of life, our institutions. To be a part of a cultural group there must be shared symbolic representations and perceptions. Steiner (1975) says it this way, "the 'semantic field' of a given culture is a dynamic, socially motivated construct. The particular 'language and reality game' played by the community depends, in a way similar to that argued by Wittgenstein in the Philosophical Investigations, on the actions, on the historically evolved and agreed to customs of that particular society" (p.87). Certainly, as members of society, we must realize this interaction process influences and shapes who we are and who we become. The symbolic creation of culture is an everchanging process.

The use of language as a meaning maker is a process of enculturation. As John-Steiner and Tatter (1983) note, "the development of human cognitive and linguistic processes is effectually and causally linked with complex social and cultural practices. The higher mental processes, such as verbal thought, cannot develop apart from the appropriate forms of social life" (p.83). This statement clearly delineates the close link between language and culture. If we use language to generalize meaning about what is around us, our cultural reality, then it is difficult to see one without the other.

The use of language as a symbol system is outlined by Vygotsky (1962) as follows, "a word does not refer to a single object but to a group or to a class of objects. Each word is therefore already a generalization. Generalization is a verbal act of thought and reflects reality in quite another way than sensation and perception reflect it" (p.5). The word is to Vygotsky an image, a mental picture, which evolves from our own experiences. As Stein (1983) states, "one of the most crucial yet most difficult life tasks is to accept that our words are not only potentially remarkable tools of communication and mastery, but that they are mere words, not reality itself" (p.402). He goes on to note that we must therefore be able to remove ourselves from our symbols without feeling a sense of loss within ourselves. Although this is how we make meaning, we must realize language is a representation, a symbol of our interaction with society and the environment.

To look at language, a discursive symbol form, we must also look at the role of emotions and feelings, non-discursive symbol forms, in our presentation of self. Vygotsky (1962) calls it the hidden text, the subtext. "In his mind the whole thought is present at once, but in speech it has to be developed successively. A thought may be compared to a cloud shedding a shower of words. Precisely because thought does not have its automatic counterpart in words, the transition from thought to words leads through meaning. In our own speech, there is always the hidden text, the subtext" (p.150). In communicating, the non-discursive form is what we feel intuitively, the unspoken thoughts which are emitted by the speaker. As the listener we pick up these non-discursive forms based on the contextual information being offered to us. Because language is a symbol form, we must be cognizant of the fact that generalizations from words are based on our own experiences, our own representations. Although we influence each other, our meaning, our reality in terms of language use, will never be precisely the same. We use words as shared concepts which are based on our own contextual understanding. As Vygotsky relayed to us, it becomes our own work of art.

Interpretation

From an interactionist, sociogenesis perspective one must realize that each symbolic representation is based on one's own environment, self-reflection and experiences. This will greatly influence how I address the area of interpretation. Each time we share our views and feelings with someone else it automatically becomes a translation and an interpretation for them. No two people ever think the same thoughts and therefore the onus is on us, as individuals, to present our ideas and ourselves with clarity. The act of engaging in a dialogue becomes an act of interpretation and translation for both parties. As

Steiner (1975) states, "any model of communication is at the same time a model of trans-lation, of a vertical or horizontal transfer of significance. No two historical epochs, no two social classes, no two localities use words and syntax to signify exactly the same things, to send signals of valuation and inference. Neither do two human beings" (p.45). Usually we think of trans-lation as being a part of an act which involves two different languages, one person acting as the interpreter and translator to convey information for the purpose of providing understanding for the other speaker. It is important to note that each day we are involved in a conversation with someone else regardless of target language used, we are engaging in the act of translation.

As the writer, translator and interpreter for the elders and their stories, it is my responsibility to attempt to portray and present our shared perceptions and understanding with clarity. I must use my intuitive sense as a guide to take the discursive and non-discursive symbols used by the storytellers and weave them into a contextual frame of reference for the reader. As I am working with two languages, my task is to take my Cree interpretation and mold it into an English translation and interpretation to bring to you the closest reflection of meaning as presented in the stories by the elders. Steiner notes (1975), "the true road for the translator lies neither through metaphrase nor imitation. It is that of paraphrase or translation with lattitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered" (p.255).

The understanding does not end here. I also had to take into consideration the narrative styles of the storyteller and the use of narration as a means of transmission of values. I had to acknowledge the fact that language is metaphorical in nature and that we use this type of language in storytelling. Total contextual analysis was required to gain a clear perception and understanding of the stories. It can also be seen and noted in the interpretation of data the difference in personality and narrative style of each elder. The environment, family and social setting influenced the storyteller and so perhaps did the gender of the storyteller. As Freda Ahenakew (1989) notes, "there are also clear definitions of style: a funny little story, for example, uses less elevated Cree than a text that carries the advice of the elders" (p. 168). In my data collection I have three male and two female elders. All of these factors are in play; therefore, it is important to note the background life histories of each storyteller to present contextual information to use as a basis for interpretation. This information will be presented as an introduction to the storytellers before the stories.

Chapter 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Elders and Collection of Stories

The data for my study, the stories for my analysis, were collected over a period of four months. In preparation for this data collection I followed several procedures which would be coined native protocol according to native customs. To access the elders and their presentation of stories I had to establish trust and rapport. Trust is crucial to native elders if they are to share personal information. I was fortunate to have established rapport with a group of elders from various northern Alberta communities when I was working as a Native Programs Consultant. During my work with them I informed them of my desire to learn more about Cree and they gave me their blessing and offered help in whatever way they could. These elders were the ones I chose for my study. I felt they were the best informants for this type of research because I knew them well, they felt comfortable with me, and they understood the value of language and culture for native people.

For the study I chose five elders from various native communities in Northern Alberta. There were three males and two females and each individual told me two stories. The elders I chose are well known and respected in their communities. They have been representatives for native councils and bands for various types of meetings and workshops. These elders follow traditional lifestyles; they live off the land, live in small native communities, speak Cree at home and have large extended families. Some of them are raising their grandchildren. The males hunted and trapped for most of their lives and they still go out into the bush whenever they are able to. The females work on hide tanning, teepee making, beading, and arrange and help out with traditional feasts.

Before the actual visit, I contacted each elder by telephone informing them of my time line and schedule of visits. During this conversation I specifically requested meaningful stories for children. I told them what the stories were for, who they were for and the significance of these stories. I explained to the elders that they would be videotaped during the storytelling session and I also requested the presence of children for these stories. These elders had been videotaped before for stories used in classrooms so videotaping was not new to them. At this time I also gave them a brief outline of the type of stories I was looking for. I asked the elders for stories of cultural significance to be passed down to children.

Before each session I purchased a gift for the storyteller and spouse, an untold protocol procedure learned from my socialization as a child. Any request for help or information from an elder requires tobacco and a gift. The gift is a token sign of appreciation and thanks for their help and mutual friendship. The tobacco is a part of a native ritual, the acknowledgment of respect for the elder. " Kistimaw", the Cree word for tobacco, is derived from the word, "kistim, which means "to respect". The tobacco is the first item to be presented before the gift.

At the actual storytelling session the procedures for taping were explained, equipment was tested and the elders had a chance to try out the microphone and get used to it before we started. There was catching up and initial conversation before the videotaping to ensure the elder and children were comfortable and happy to be a part of the storytelling session. This took approximately 30 to 60 minutes.

The children for the storytelling sessions were mostly grandchildren and relatives, although some of the grandchildren also brought friends. The number of children varied from one to six. Ages were anywhere from toddler to fifteen. In one session, there was a great grandchild, a toddler, along with the mother as part of the audience for the stories.

I informed the elders of the procedure we would use during the actual videotaping session. I requested two stories from each elder and some autobiographical information about themselves and their families. I told them there would be a short pause between each story.

During the actual session, there was joking, bantering and teasing. This is the way we socialize with older people in our culture and everyone enjoyed the task. It was a pleasant social visit for all of us involved with the storytelling, reflecting what happens in actual storytelling sessions. Adult participants jest with the storyteller during short pauses or breaks while children remain quiet and in their places. Children are expected to remain patient and wait for the next story while the adults joke and tease each other. Stories were videotaped to obtain total discourse presentation with body language, intonation and gestures. After the storytelling session, the informants were prepared again for the next phase of the study. There were telephone calls and follow up visits for checking and re-checking for proper interpretation and translation of Cree and English.

The transcription of tapes was verbatim. I did not include expressions or pauses in my transcription but noted them in the analysis. A pause in the story provides the listener with some information. The use of pauses and silence were taken as part of the total discourse analysis. Total discourse analysis took place when I sat with the videotape after an initial analysis with the written transcription. Information such as a pause or stress in intonation is difficult to note; therefore, I have chosen to leave it out. It is an intuitive sense, an unspoken message told by body language, pause or change in voice. The analysis was based on total discourse presentation in context.

Analysis of Stories

The process I used for analysis involved the following steps. Initially I used the videotape to transcribe the story with no attempt at analysis but for the purpose of providing myself with a written transcription in Cree. I followed this procedure for all of the stories. I then read my transcription while listening to the video to ensure the written transcription was complete and accurate. The next step was to work with the written transcription and analyze the data. I read the information and took out key themes and listed these themes in Cree. I then moved to the next step which was to sit, listen and analyze the total discourse presentation from the video. I listened and analyzed from the video after an extensive time lapse so that I would not work from my initial analysis of the written transcription. This second analysis procedure involved an intuitive process of eliciting themes, an interpretation from an oral presentation. Following this procedure I went over the two lists from the written transcription and the video and cross referenced statements or themes which could be generalized into a key theme statement.

After this section of my analysis was completed, I went to the elders to verify the themes, check for accuracy of terms and discuss the teachings from their stories. During my analysis I made several phone calls to check for understanding and translation. For each visit I took the videotape and we watched it to refresh the elder's mind and bring the storytelling session back to each one of them for analysis and self reflection. I also used this opportunity to check for English translations of words I had difficulty with, especially place names.

All of my initial analysis was done in Cree and I did not attempt to translate a story to English until all of my analysis for the story was complete. The procedure I used to verify the themes I had listed was to ask the elders to respond to the following statement, "what do you think are the key teachings for children from this story"? From their responses we discussed the themes I had listed and talked about the importance of the teachings. In most cases the elders elaborated and provided me with more information about each topic. The discussion also provided more background information and the frame of reference for each elder. I went back to each section and worked on the translation for the story, the written transcription and the themes from the video. I chose to follow this procedure because I wanted to work in my mother tongue, Cree. Therefore the translation procedure is specifically for the purpose of sharing my information with the non-Cree speaker.

As I worked on the translation I found the speech and narrative style of some of the storytellers made it difficult for me to take each statement and present it as we would in editorial English. As I worked on the translation I realized the pattern of language and translation method I had to use was to place the English structures in Cree language patterns. Each time I tried to use editorial English my own sense of being felt violated. I intuitively followed this method of translation to ensure the meaning was as close as it could be to the actual presentation. Brightman (1989) talks about using the same type of translation for some of his work, "In these cases, I worked from transcriptions of the Cree text and prepared interlinear translations that then became the basis for the English versions. These narratives often retain stylistic, lexical, and syntactic features of Cree, often to the detriment of their lucidity or elegance in English"(p.viii).

An oral storytelling session is very different from a written story. The transcription and translation is for the purpose of providing the reader with an English translation. The rhythm of the Cree language along with the metaphorical style of story made the task difficult for me. I was influenced by the rhythm and pace of my own mother tongue. If I had taken the liberty of changing the transcription to suit English language patterns and writing style I would have taken the story away from my storyteller. The pauses were not complete stops and the statements were incomplete at these short pauses. Since they were not complete stops I had to punctuate these stops with a comma. I know readers may find it difficult to follow the long statements. As a reference to my technique of translation I perused Freda Ahenakew's text on "Stories of the House people" and I found the same style in her text. Freda used a small slash or comma to indicate a pause.

In Chapter four I have presented a brief background description of the storytellers along with a short description of the personality and narrative style of each storyteller from my point of reference. The storytellers also provide background information on themselves as a part of the introduction to the stories. The stories are presented in Cree followed by the English translation and my interpretation of themes.

Chapter 4

THE STORYTELLERS AND THEIR STORIES

This chapter contains background information about each storyteller which is important for the reader. The information is presented in a two-fold manner. The first presentation is from my perspective as the writer and acquaintenance. I am sharing what I have learned about each storyteller from relatives, community people and my own interaction with them. I hope what I share will give the reader some background about each storyteller's personality and narrative style. The second presentation is from the storyteller and gives background information about where they were born, how old they are and other information they would like to share with the reader. There is no significance to the order in which the storytellers and their stories are presented.

The Storytellers

The first storyteller is Joe Logan of Calling Lake, Alberta. I first met Joe at a Native Language workshop I arranged, and he was brought in by one of the Native Language Instructors to help us with a Cree dictionary we were working on. Joe is a humorous man who loves to tease, tell stories and joke to make people laugh. He is also very cognizant of what people expect from him and will provide as much information as he can. We had other elders in attendance at the workshop and he took it upon himself to make sure all of them felt at ease and were taken care of. Joe has been a trapper, a storekeeper and he has worked at various other jobs in his life. He knows the value of education and talks about this with students.

Joe is the kind of elder who is readily remembered because of his jokes and teasing. He is well respected and loved by his community. To ensure he gets his message across in his stories he provides pieces of information in English.

Although Joe loves to tease not much of this was evident in the actual storytelling session. He talked to his audience, the children, and gave them the teachings he felt were important to share. He chose to use the storytelling session as a type of counselling session for the children. His narrative style is quite different from the rest of the storytellers. Joe introduces a statement and discussion revolves around it for a while and he continues to present relevant information to reinforce and support his key statement. In the presentation of themes this becomes evident as Joe talks about the same statement in many different ways.

The next storyteller is Louise Yellowknee of Wabasca, Alberta. I met Louise through her daughter Nora who is a close personal friend of mine. Louise is an elder who has played many roles. She has been a part of Northland School Division workshop sessions for many years. I was a part of a Curriculum Development team to develop a Cree Curriculum Guide for Alberta Education and Louise was one of our elders. She is a member of the Judicial System set up by the Wabasca people as a new way of dealing with crime in their community. Louise has always been a key individual in the education system and she has always taken an active role to help the young people. Louise loves to interact with people and this comes through in the storytelling session because her stories are meant to entertain. They are both funny stories and one is a personal story she does not readily share unless you have formed a bond with her. Louise is an entertainer and she was ready with her stories and her objective was to make people laugh. The two stories she tells are quite different because they carry only two or three pertinent themes and the rest of the details are descriptions of the events.

Noel Grey is my own grandfather and he has always been a helpful elder in many different ways. He has maintained the Cree language, using many terms which are unfamiliar to me, and he has taken his time to tell me what they mean through descriptors.

Noel has travelled quite extensively with the Atikameg Band Council to various meetings and workshops. He has been asked to address his own people in the community with his wise words. Noel is a wise and quiet elder who becomes the center of attention at various gatherings because of his stories and jests with community people.

Noel shared personal events of hardship and hunting with the children in the storytelling session. He has worked as a trapper and hunter and he loves the outdoors and all that mother nature has to offer. He talks about how times have changed and how different it is today for the young people.

As the stories unfold it is clear each narrative style is distinctly the storyteller's own style. Noel likes to paint a picture for you as he tells the story. He provides a lot of descriptive details about the landscape, time of year, exact location and the actual event. He makes key statements and follows this up with descriptive details.

Edward and Josephine Laboucan are a loving couple who have won me over with no effort at all. I have the deepest respect and admiration for this couple. They are seen in many social circles by request and at times by their own choice to help others. Edward is a wise and well respected elder who travelled extensively with Bernard Ominiyak to help him address the Lubicon Lake issue. He lives a very quiet life and still travels to his trapline to hunt and trap. Josephine has helped us extensively with the Native Language program in Little Buffalo since she has many skills we can tap into. She works with moosehide, beading, sewing and still practises many of the traditional ways we would like to keep.

The stories that Edward shares are brief but include a lot of information. He is a man of few words and well developed thoughts which carry a strong message. He emphasizes the importance of mother nature and all that she has provided for us. Edward is a wise elder who is clear and concise with his message to the audience. He chose his stories carefully and his intention was to give the children some wise teachings which will go a long way if the message is accepted.

Josephine talks about her own experiences growing up and how these experiences have helped her become the person she is today. Josephine's narrative style is one of teasing, jesting and laughing at herself and her own lifestyle. She uses her own experiences to reinforce key statements she feels are pertinent for the children to hear. Her style moves from light, gentle humor to sombre, deep thoughts consistently throughout the stories.

These are the well respected elders who took the time to share their personal, anecedotal stories with us. The teachings from these stories are very much appreciated.

In the rest of this chapter, each storyteller introduces him or herself and this will be followed by two stories in Cree and English. Cultural themes are then presented for the stories followed by a summary of themes as validated by each storyteller. Each theme statement is written in Cree and English and is numbered. There is no significance in the numbering but I have tried to keep related topics together and in sequence. The themes are noted with a W for written transcription and a V for video transcription. Each Cree statement is followed by a translation.

Joe Logan of Calling Lake, Alberta

Personal Background Information

I am 72 years old, I was born on the 5th of February (Mikisiw pisim). My father, his family, the Logan family were from Edmonton. They moved from over there, St. Albert area. He went to school there, he was about 12 years old when his own father died, he was attending school. When school was over in the summer he met up with a farmer who planted wheat and other grains, this farmer did mixed farming. He was farming about five miles out of St. Albert which they also called Big Lake. He went to work for this farmer all summer, in the fall when school started the farmer asked him to continue staying with them. He liked it there too, he enjoyed their company and the travelling they did to sell their wheat. He helped milk the cows, he was a good worker. The farmer went to his mom and asked her whether he could become a father figure for her son and also provide clothing money for him and send him to school. School only went to grade ten then. He stayed with them, he milked cows, they made cream and butter and they also gave his mom so much to help her out. When he was 18 he left Edmonton and he came out here to Athabasca. I don't know how he got here. He came to visit his relations, the McLeod family, he stayed with them and enjoyed himself. His other uncle from Wabasca came to visit and told him they needed a clerk for $100 a month. My father left with him, he got hired as the clerk.

As for my mom, when she was 2, when the nuns and priests first arrived, they took in about six girls and my mom was one of them to be raised in this small mission.

When my mom was 16 she left the mission, she met my dad, when she was 17 she wed my father. My oldest brother, I followed him by ten years, he was born when my mom was just past 18. My other brother was born three years later, then I followed. I was born in Chipewyan Lake in 1918. I am 72 years old, going on 73. We stayed in Chipewyan Lake for awhile, till they quit buying fur then we moved to Wabasca for the summer. We left in the fall by river and I experienced a near death drowning accident as a young boy. We never returned to Chipewyan Lake we remained in Wabasca. We moved from Wabasca when I was about ten to the area called the Kapown which is Athabasca. We moved back to Wabasca in 1929. I was raised in Wabasca, moved to Slave Lake in 1941. I didn't like Slave Lake so I went back and forth to Wabasca then I made my way back to Kapown in 1942. I worked in Athabasca all winter then in the month of August my partner and I got married, we are still together today. We have been together for 47 years. She's not so young

anymore either, she is 67 years old. We just live on our old age pension although sometimes I carve stuff which I sell. She makes moccasins to sell too. It's difficult to make a living today.

Story #1

Cree Version

Iko oma kawimamiskotaman takakwiy kanawitamik nihiyaw isitawin oma tanisi ayisiniwak kaki pitohtakwaw kayas. Kayas aysiniwak makikway ohci mamisiwak welfare, kispin moya kiwaniskan kikisipa, tanitaw atoskataman kikway tanocicikiyin, tamaciyin, kinosiw takwiy nipahat, sisipak takwiy nipahatwaw, waposak, ikwanima takwiy kanonamik oma. Ikwa kayas ayisiniwak, oma kamiyoskamik tapiskohc kimawicitawak wiyas kapohk, kakiwaka ositatwaw, ispi ikwa kamiyoskamik ikwa ki-ositatwak wikotow-simowin. Iwikotow-simowin iko iki manito itakwaw iki apacihikotwaw. Micitwaw ayisiniw ika iwipimatisiht wikotow kamikohk pitikwahiht apiw ikosisi, iki, ikotawaci astipayit. Ikwa kotak mina ki-ositawak maka moya mihcit ayisiniw ikoyow ki-ohci kaskitaw. Aya kosapahtamowin kisikatiw. Ikwa ikwanima kosapahtamowin titipiwi iki titipiwiskitikwaw misitikwa, ikohta 4 inches piko, niyo icihic iki ayakaskahk iskwatim. Ika ikona napiw kawikosapahtak, iki macikwapisoht, ospihtona otahk itakopitikwaw oskata mina, ikohta iyasosimiht, ikwa ipakahamat kotak tana iwakomat ikosisi ipakosimaht taki kaskitayit. Ikona ikwa napiw iyopakocihk, ipitohkwikocihk mayow kapitohkwikocihk osisikwana ikwa ikohti ipitakosiht. Ikoni ikwa iyapacihat ikwa naha kakosit mistahi ayisiniw, ikwana ikwa inatawimikoht ikoni anihi. Ikwa kisokipayiwa kikway ikosisi, taskohc awiyak tapiwitahk ikonima anima ikohta tapiht, tapapihtaht, ikoni kaki takopiswakit piminakwana, kiyapic takopitititiwa katawawikoht ikoni anihi. Ikwa awiya matwi pikiskwatihk ikohti picayihk, ika itapowakitaman oma kisicikihk, ayapikona ohi tato ta-otamiyoyin imatwi itikoht ikwa mawiya wapamiw, awiwa kapimosinatikoht macika wistawaw kitapwakitamohk. Pipiyak ayisiniwak kiyapic ikoyo kaskitawak maka moya nitihtin mihcit awiyak ikwa. Ikwa wikotowin mina kiyasowinamatowak, kakisiniwiht ispi awiyak ika taki nipahtaht kikway taki wikotonikiht, ikohta ikwa okosa kimiyiw ikosi tisicikiht. Ikwa katakwak mina ikosi ki-isicikiwak, kamaci wapistikwaw nipiya, ikwa mistahi iki pakositakwaw, iki tapwitakwaw. Ikota ohci miyopayiwin iki otinakwaw, kawi. Niki kiskisin mana wapaskak piyak napiw iki nipahat ositisa ikwa wikotokamik iki ayayit, wiyo ikoyo iki otinak, wiya ikwa mana iki wikokiht. Ikwa, moya ohci ikiniyo, moya ohci kinipataw kikway wikahc, apiw moya ki ohci nipahtamowaw kikway iki kakwayaki mayakwaniyik ikwayikohk. Nitaki mana sisipa kwanta kikwas iki asakitwaw kawikotonihkit. Ikwa awiyak kasowinamaht wikotokamik, kamaciht, askaw imikwa pimohtit moswa kinipawiwa soskwac, ipaskisoht, ikwaykohk iki ikihk kayas kikway iki tapwikitakwaw ayisiniwak. Kiyapic anohc ikihn nihiyaw maskiki tamamisitotaman, kikway tapacihikoyin, but, piko mitoni tatapowakitaman. Tihkihk tanisokamakoyin kapacihikon kiyapic nihiyaw maskiki maka, ika tatapowakitaman tanatawihkawiyin nihiyaw maskiki ohci moya tapatan, wi-wiya ika itapwitaman, you don't believe it, ikohta nika kayasimosin. Now then, piko kikway misawac ikosi, kanatawihisk doctor, mina maskikiya ohi itohkwiy, piyakwan itohkwiy ikosi ispayow, ayisiniw ika tapowakitahk taki apacihikot, moya tapacihik kikway.

Ikwa ikospi piko tanocicikiyin, tapimatisiyin ikwa. Kikway mina iki miyosihk Hudson Bay Stores mosowiti ki-astiwa ikwa mina Reviyons kisikatiw piyak store. Kispin kwayask itipahikin, inihta tipahikin,ika imicimoci askataman kimasinahikiwina mihcit ayisiniw niki ohcici wapimaw, mistahi ikitimahisot ikosisi iwayisikimoskiht ikwa. Kawayisikimoht ikwa oma, titiw ayisiniwa, " Ah niwawiyasihaw ika kikway itipahamowak osam mistahi isokakihcikiht kakiya kikway titiw" , probably kisitawaw asay iko kipitinawaw maci kihti-ayisiniwak. Ikonihk ikwa kamiyoskamik ispi ika katipahikitwaw niki kakisi tipahikitwaw kapi-nipin masinahiki miyawak Hudson Bay store ohci, kihci atawikamihk iko kaki isikatiw mistikosiw kamik nima kotak. Ikonihk ikwa masinahikihawak miyawak ata ika ma-mistahi, mitahat nopihikan piyak pisim atiht. Ikwa oki kanihta nocicikitwaw, mamistahi ahtaya inipahatwaw, ikayawatisitwaw, mamistahi ki-miyawak ikonikani. Taskohc Wapaskahk kaki ohci opikiyan, kati-takwak oma, oki kanihta nocicikitwaw soskwac wiyawi awacikiwak wiyawaw atawikamikohk ohci. Nitaw positatwaw osihk oki kawi manapwoyotwaw Wapaskwaw sipiy kawi nitaw nocicikitwaw. Mwici atawikamik wiyawaw initaw astatwaw ikohi isinakocikiwak ikwa, wiwawa mina inisokamamiht kapipon isko tatakosikwaw. Osam piko, kanipa-ayamihak kakiyaw kipikiwiwak onocicikiwak askaw mina naywac pikiwiw kispin kisowak inocicikit. Ikwa kocitokisikahk mina ikohta ki-ayawak imocikitatwaw. Kakiyawiyak iki asakiht wikihk kapitikwawat imicisoyin ikohta anima kikway imiyosihk imawicitatwaw moswa oma ohci kikway. Ikwanima oma kinitawimikawik oma takwi, takwi pimitsahamihk ika tawipinamik kakiyakway ika tamocokatikoyikwaw oki, moniyawak. Ikwa mina, ika nastaw kiminihkwiwinwaw takwi nocitayik, ikwa oma mina macikikway mastaw kapitwatamihk. Ata nista niki oskayowin ikwa mina casay ikwa ikitiyayowiyan niki maminihkwan mana maka mokac, nitomicimohci minihkwan piko tasipwitisahakawiyan. Ikoni ohi iti ayisiniwak kanitaw kanowimihtwaw oma, kanitaw pasotwaw kisikatakwaw niya wiya isi-nistotaman ikwanima, piko tatakotiht awiyak ositihk titapisoht tasikawicowaniyihk macapoy kakiyakway oma kaminikwit ikwa mina kapitwatahk nima. Atiht mana nikikamikwak ikotowihk kanitaw wiciwitwaw ikosi kitwiwak moy-miyowtamok maka, ikosisi nistotahk ayisiniw tanisi kitwit kikway.

Ikwa takwi ahkam imimoyihk kistatwaw takwi pimacihisoyihk, kaya nayistaw mamisihk tanisokamakawiyihk welfare oma kisikatihk. Ayisiniw ikohtowak nayistaw kamamisiht, mihcit ayisiniw, moniyaw, nihiyaw, kiyam ata ika initawimat tanihi iskwiwa tanitaw wiwikaso nastaw ohci iyasimiht ikwa wista ikohta ohci micisot. Moya ikosi takwi tohtamihk pimacisiyiko kakwi mamitonimisohk ikwa wiwiyiko mamitonim kiwikimakan. Ocawasimisiyiko kwayask kwiy paminikohk, kasakihikowawak naspihc, ispi kisiyayiko kotihtikowawak tahki kicawasimisowawak ipi-nitaw wapim koyikwaw. Ikwanima ata oma kapikiskwiyan namoya aya ikwi kikamihtakwaw maka, nika miwitiyin takociyihk ohti nikan, tanikohk miyo wihowin ayaw ayisiniw, kwayask kisicikwiniht ikwa mina kwayask kakwi pimacihisot. Napiw pimacisowin iwako sikatiw, nista niki oskayowin 47 years aspin kawiwiyan, miskwa nito nitaw nawakiskwipin welfare office, iskwiw takikamiht welfare iskwiw takwatakaspinimiht, ikitimihkaniyan. Iko moya nito wapatin, kakwi nikikwi miskin kikway itopimacihisoyan. Ata wiya tapwi piyak piko awas niki opihkihanan, kicimokomanahk ikwa kaki iwako ayaw mokac nimamitonitamikonan, kitatawiy man pitakosin, maka nastaw takwiy pipakosihikoyak pici namoya. Kapitakosihk taskohc piyakwaw ohta niya ika ikimaciyan iki manisikasoyan nihti. Wiya ikwa kamaciht in my trapline, ninocicikiskanahk, niso yapiwa niki nipatamakonan. Ikwa kotaka moniyawa ohtinahk ohci piyitihk, aniskokasikana ohi welding outfit wimikoht tanipatamowat onicano moswa. Tapwi nitaw nipatamowiw ikwa, ikwana napiw ikwa ipinataht ikoni nicaniw moswa, ikoti itakosikwaw, potoma kitisk ay misowi pakikin isikopicikatihk, kakiyaw kitamiwa mistahaya nihi moswa itihtayiht. Macika mitoni makway ohci ohtisow, ikwa, maka kipaskisamowiw niso nantaw apisimososa, ikoni wiyatawiya kiwitahiwak maka mosci tipahamak soniyawa, ohtaw nicaniw moswa iki nitawimayit. Ikwa kihci mokananahk ikwa kawiy kaki isi sipwitiht kitatawiy mana pifonahikwiy kiyapic wiya oma, maka, mohkac ikwa pitohtiw mitoni itohkwiy nistwa askiy aspin iki pitohtiht. Matonci apiw ipimatisiht ikwa piyak askiy nantaw namoya nipitinan wiya natohk onikisiko mana wista itacimaw, tawi ika kayayahk maka. Nantaw 15 itahtoponiyit kaki ponitaht kisinahamatokamihk ikwa inocicikiht wista ikohta ohci. Soskwac kinihta nocicikiw, mistahi iki papiwiht, maka, ita kaki otaskanist opapawa iki papiwiht mina mistahi, ikota pita isko nikacimosin mahti awa kacimoht Barbara tanisi ititahk wiya.

English Translation

What I am going to talk about is the importance of keeping the Cree way of life, how people lived long ago. Long ago, people did not rely on welfare, if you don't get up in the morning, to go and work at something like trapping, hunting, fishing, ducks or rabbits, it is this you should try to keep as a way of life. Long ago, during the early spring, people would preserve meat for the winter,

they would make dry meat, then in early spring they would have a celebration, a feast. A feast was greatly appreciated and respected and it worked for the people. Many people dying would be taken into the lodge and they would be healed. There was also another lodge they built but not too many knew this ceremony. It is called the shaking tent ceremony. This lodge was surrounded by trees, four inches apart, and the door was only 4 inches wide too. A man would forecast the future, he would be tied up, his arms would be tied behind him along with his legs, his body would be leaned against something, then a relation with a great belief in the ability of this man would drum and sing for him. This man would fly up in the air, fly into the lodge and as soon as he entered the lodge his rattles would sound. The person who is being doctored would use the rattles, the belief factor would come into play with these rattles. These ceremonies were very powerful, if you believed in it, if you laughed at it then the ropes, still tied up, which had been used to tie up the man, would hit you. This individual would hear someone talking from the lodge, telling him to sit there and untie the ropes, he would not be able to see this person. He did not know who threw at him therefore his thoughts would change to belief. There are people far and few who know how to set up this lodge, I think there are very few. These ceremonies were also passed down, when a person became too old to perform healing then he will hold a feast, it is here he would pass it down to his son to carry on with these rituals. In the autumn they also did this, when the leaves are changing colors, they truly had great expectations and beliefs. They got their good luck returned from these rituals. I remember a man from Wabasca who destroyed his older brother for a lodge that he owned, he took this lodge from him and he would hold the celebrations. This lodge did not work for him, it did not provide food for him, even others who tried to hunt for him could not do it, everything was unlucky for him. Other people would provide small game like ducks for his feasts. If a lodge is passed down to someone then when he hunts, he could just be walking and he will see a moose standing in front of him to be shot. Long ago people really believed in their way of life. Today, if you believe in Indian medicine, it will work for you, but you have to believe in it. At this time it will help you, it will heal you, Cree medicine that is, but if you do not believe in it, it won't work because you don't believe in it, I spoke a little English there. Now then, it is like this for anything, if you are taking medication from the doctor or if you are taking pills, it is the same for these, if a person does not believe in it, then it won't work.

Back then you had to trap to make a living. The other thing which was good were the Hudson Bay stores which were all over, there was also a store called Revillons. If you paid your bills right, a good creditor, if you did not leave your bills unpaid, I saw a lot of people who were really poor because they left their bills unpaid and tried to fool people. The person who tries to fool others will say " I played a joke on him because I didn't pay my bill because his prices are so outrageous, along with other statements" probably you, along with the others, have already heard this from older people. In the spring, the ones who did not pay their bills did not get credit and the ones who paid them up would get credit all summer from the Hudson Bay store, which was also called the great store, the other store was called the French store. Then these people were hired, given a small amount like ten dollars per month. Those that were good trappers, with lots of furs, the good workers, they were given a lot. Take Wabasca for instance, I grew up in this area, in the fall, the good trappers would haul goods from the store. They would put them in their canoes, the ones who would canoe the Wabasca river to go and trap. It would look like they were on their way to open a little store, their wives would also get help all winter until they got home. Most often, they would arrive at Christmas time, sometimes sooner if they were closer to home. At kissing day (New Year's) they would have celebrations. Everyone would hold a feast, if you arrived you would eat, they would save all the delicacies of the moose for this occasion. It is this, all of this, that we want you to keep, to follow this way of life, not to throw it away and replace it with foolish behaviors taught to you by non-native people. Also, do not waste your time on drunkenness, and drugs are also not good for you. I was young once, too, and as I got older I did drink but I never stayed drunk, so drunk I had to be sent away for treatment. It is here, where people are sent to be kept for treatment, the way I understand it, someone has to be hung upside down by his feet, so the booze will drain from his body along with the smoking drugs. Some people get upset with me, the ones who have gone for treatment, for the statements I make about it, they don't like to hear that, it depends on a person's understanding of what is being said.

Try to continue to strive for earning your own livelihood, do not depend on help from other places especially the one called welfare. If a person depends on this most of the time, Cree Indian, White man, this person although he may not desire the woman he lives with, will do so because he can live off her. Do not do this, earn your own living, think about yourselves and your future wives. When you have children, treat them right, they will love you very much, when you are old they will visit and come and see you often. What I am saying to you, I am not angry with you, I am not telling you off, I want to share with you, I will be happy if you try in the future, this will make a good name for you, the way you handle yourselves and the way you live. It is called a man's way of life, I was young once too, I have been married for 47 years, not once did I go and sit with my head down at the welfare office, for a woman to tell me off because I am lazy. I have never seen that, I always tried to find something to help me earn my living, it is true I only had one child, sometimes he arrives to come and see us but he has never arrived to get food off my table, once he arrived I couldn't hunt I had an operation. He left to go and hunt for me on my trapline, he came back with two bull moose. He went hunting for a whiteman from the city, he gave him a welding outfit to shoot a couple of female moose for him. It's true he went to kill these moose for him, when the whiteman arrived to get his kill, when they got there they only found the fur, the wolves got all the moosemeat. They got nothing from this hunt, so therefore, they had to hunt again, this time he got 2 deer for him. He got money for this deal instead because the whiteman had his heart set on the female moose. He travelled back to the United States, once in a while, he calls us on the telephone. He hasn't been to see us for a while, it's been three years since we have seen him. He may not even be alive, we haven't heard from him for over a year, he gets into all sorts of situations, I've been told if we are not present. He left school when he was about 15 years old, he went trapping then too. He was a good trapper, he was very lucky, his relations, his father were

very lucky, I will stop here for Barbara to see how she likes the story.

Story #2

Cree Version

Kayas ki-ayiman niyanan oskayowiyahk, makikway car ohci itahkow, makikway kasipiw, soskwac tapwi piko tamamitonimisoyin topikihtamasoyin acimosak, ikwa ikonihk ikwa kwayask tapimihatwaw kwayask tasamatwaw kiwapatinawaw anita pictures kawapatitakwaw atimok otapahakwaw. Makway nista ikospi car iyayawak ikwanima ikonik piko, mamisiyan, mistatimok mana niki atawan askaw nanom iki ayawakwaw ikwa awiyak ika ipononwimiht niki atawakan. Iko piko isi-pimohtiwin kayas kispin kitimihtin ipimitapasoyin atimok ohci mina mistatimok, piko ikwa tamostotohtiyan mosci-nayacikiyan ikwa. Ki-nayicawasin wiya maka, mistahiyiwak maka ayisiniw kimaskawatiso kayas, iko oma mina ikitamahisoyik oma, ikwawkac kapimohtiyik sakahk, miskanak tapamohtiyin, makikway kinisokamason ikwanima wiya ika ipihkatiyin, sakahk omatowihk tapimohtiyin, kapimaskosikwaw oki mistikwak ipastahkoskiyin, kakiyaw your muscles iyatoskitwaw misowi kiyaw. Ikohci ayisiniw kaki-sipiwistwaw kayas, tahkohc ota Athabasca niki nistawimaw Creamer isikasow moniyaw, kiyapic oma ipimatisit oti ikinocicikit down the river La Peace River ikohta acawikamikos piyisk ki-ayaw ispi ati-kisiniwiht. Ikohti mihcit askiy iki nocicikit, kiyapic oma his birthday anohc kati-kwiskipohk, 104 ikwa itahtoponit ci onocicikiw ikwana piyak. Ika ohci kihtimitahk tanocicikit, maka ikwa oma ayisiniwak kisi-pimatisitwaw, otapasotwaw, ika ipimohtitwaw, watistakac atiht ayisiniw kitimakiso, ikohk kawinoht nikitimakinawaw ayisiniw kawinoht wi, moya kinwis taki pimatiso ayisiniw wawiyak tawinoht piko tanakatihtahk awa ayisiniw ikoyo takwi, ika kwaykohk winoht. Nista piyakwaw niki winon 247 pounds niki kosokwatin, ay-itahtwaw niki kaskitan tawaniskayan kakapikisihk iya-atoskiyan, wi its too much weight taki pimohtayin ikwaykohk. Ikwa takwi miyo wicitoyihk mina, kikway mamawaci nipakwatin niya oma kisinakwak anohc, kapam sikwatahakwaw oskayak waskahikana ikwa mina nayastaw ikwi pam kimohtwaw, makikway inikaniht ayisiniw ikwanima kitisk iwiyasowatihk ikwa, tanakatimiht mitoni piko kaki, why? Ikosi ayisiniw titohtahk cikocan mamitonitamok. Nitaw atoskik, kispinatamosok kikway kakawatamik tatawiyihk, instead tanitaw kimohtiyihk misawac, you're not getting away with it, ohtaw takahtin kawiyihk piyisk. Ataw aso (moso) (misko) misitoyihk, mitoni askaw tana ikohta ohci wiciwiyit iko initaw kitamakaskininahit ikipahikasot mitoni makikway ohci, tana kamaskaw atisiht ikota kawiciwiht, ikwana wiya mitoni takaki wihowin ayaw wiya ikostikoht nihi kotaka kawiciwat. Ayisiniw imiskiht ikosisi tawisam koyiyik pam kimohtiyihk kay wikac wicihk, wiya ata wiya pikawatahikici ikwa mina wiya kimoci kiyawaw kakiyaw iyawahokoyihk ikwa asomikoyihk, "kanipa-

atahotinawaw misimiyiko". Ikosi ispayihk oma anohc ayisiniwak, maka ayiman mina ayisiniw pakaci itohkwiy imohco pahisot, ikwa oma mina ikwa dope ki-sikatakwaw maci maskiki kotinakwaw ayisiniwak. Piyakwaw kotinakwaw makway itahakoniyow taki-sikihikotwaw tititakwaw, ikwanima mitoni tamamitonitamasoyihk, kaya-kwiy otinamok ikwanima misawac ika kikway ohci kitisk takitimahikoyihk. Nawac tamamitonitamihk kwayask takwi isi pimatisiyihk isi kaskitayihk, misawac mina ayisiniw ta-ayawakimoht, ata mihcit awiya tamisinocihat ikwa ika tamayitahk opimat-tapimacihisot, moya iko napiw. Oma onotinikiwino kitwik, mihcit ayisiniw nihta notinikiw tapakamawat awiya tamisinocihat takitimakatawat, maka ikwa iwako ayisiniw takwi-takwi pimacihisot moya kaskitaw. Moya onapikasowino ikwana ayisiniw kanapikasot, piko kikway oht-napikaso, moya onotinkiwin nakatokiw, takwi soki-iyitahk takwi pimacihot. Ikwa takwi pamacihisot kwayask otayisinima tapimacihat, ikwa kikway kakwi sokocihitaht oma tanisokamakotwaw ayisiniwak, ikoyo moya taponitaw iko inapikasot. Takohc awa kitotiminaw ota ohci Mike Cardinal oma kaki pitokwahayak inikanistamakoyak ota kapowinihk. Soskwac mihcit kikway nisokamakiw, maka ikwa Mike moya nitihtin wikac notinikiw nawat ta-ikatitiw takwi pakamahot. Maka ikwa kotak kikway ohci, kiwapatinawaw miskanawa misowi pimamotaw, new school kitayanaw ota, complex mina wiya kaki atoskatahk imikawiyahk. Wiya ika iyopoyowinit, iko notinikiniwino niya nitisikatin maka ayisiniw, takiskwipiht awiya takwi nipahatawaht mitoni, moya otaywakimo, moya onotinikiwino ikwana ika kikway ikisikihtaht imocowiht wiya imoyonaht awiya takimakatawat. Kaya ikosi totamok kiyawaw kakwi, kispin kiwi napikasonawaw, napikasohk tapimacihisoyihk kaya naystaw welfare initaw nawakiskwipihk, welfare nocikwiso takikamikoyihk natohk titaspinimikoyihk pamayis kikway mikoyihk. Asatowin to asamowasoyihk iko, iko moya miyonakwan, iko niya moya nito wapahtin ikosi nimiwitin anohc kakisikahk. Moya awiyak nika kipi-itihk iko awa welfare iki ohci pimacihot ikohci kowinoht titikawiyan, ikwa inipahakatisot oma, pita nika nakisin nomi.

English Translation

Long ago it was hard when we were young, there were no cars then, therefore one had to think of himself and raise puppies, these puppies had to be treated right, they had to be well fed, you saw those pictures we have of dog teams. Back then I didn't have a car either, we depended on these dogs, I also bought horses, I used to have them occasionally but there was always a buyer so I sold them. This was our only means of travel, dogs and horses, if you were tired of travelling by wagon then you walked with a backpack. It was hard then but people were a lot healthier long ago, we are mistreating ourselves when we can't even walk in the bush. To walk on the road, we don't help ourselves because we don't bend our legs. In the bush you have to walk over

trees, you use all of your muscles in your whole body. Long ago people had endurance, for example, in Athabasca I knew a man named Creamer, a whiteman, he still lives today, he trapped down the Peace River, he finally had a store there when he was an old man. He trapped many years there, his birthday is in the winter, he will turn 104, he was a trapper. He had the motivation to trap, today now the way people live, they drive, they don't walk, some of them are in poor shape, they are so fat. I feel sorry for people who are this fat, they can't live long if they are so fat, a person has to watch his weight, to keep it down. I was fat once too, I weighed 247 pounds, it was difficult for me to get out of bed and go to work all day because it's too much weight for me to carry. Let's try to get along too, what I hate the most today, is the way the young people go around breaking and entering homes and stealing. A person who lives like this does not get ahead, he goes to court and he has to be watched. Why would a person do that, just think about it. Go to work, earn your own money and buy whatever you like instead of stealing because sooner or later you'll get caught. People tell on each other, sometimes the wrong person goes to jail for nothing, the one who is aggressive and strong gives himself a good name because the others are scared of him. If a strong person asks you to steal, don't follow him because even if he is one who destroys things and steals he will pin it on you and threaten you with "if you tell on me I'll physically kill you". It happens this way today, it is also difficult when a person gets himself so drunk he doesn't know what's happening, along with the dope they take, it is a dangerous drug for people. Once they take it they fear nothing or think that way anyway, think strongly about this, don't take drugs because they will only destroy you. It is better to think about how to live a good life the best way you can because although a person may speak aggressively and can fist fight but is not concerned about how he lives his own life, he is not a man. The fighting man we talk about is not a fist fighter, we know there are many good fist fighters who can beat up a person to hurt someone but ask this person to make his own living and he is unable to. This is not a fighting man. A man is someone who earnestly goes after other things he does not acknowledge fist fighting, he tries earnestly to make a living. He tries to help his people in anyway he can, these are the goals he goes after. It is so for our relation from here, Mike Cardinal, we elected him to represent us here in Athabasca. He has helped tremendously in many ways, I don't think Mike would fist fight with anyone, I think he would walk away if someone was after him. For other goals that he sets, we see the roads, the new school we have, the complex we own. He goes after things earnestly. I call him a fighting man, for a person who drinks and tries to kill someone with his bare hands, I don't recognize him as a fighting man, he doesn't know anything, he is stupid because he can hurt people. Don't pick up these behaviors, if you want to act like a man, earn your living. Don't live on welfare, to sit there, while the little old welfare lady calls you down before you get anything from her. Don't rely on welfare to feed your children, it doesn't look right. I have never seen that and I'm happy for it today. No one can come into my home to say I lived off welfare, I got fat from it but I'm so skinny anyway. I will stop here for awhile.

Cultural Themes in Joe Logan's Stories

Story #1

1. Kanawitamohk oma nihiyaw pimacihowin
   Maintain the Cree way of life

W Iko oma kawimamiskotaman takakwiy kanawitmihk nihiyaw isitawin oma tanisi ayisiniwak kaki pitohtakwaw kayas
What I am going to talk about is the importance of keeping the Cree way of life how people lived long ago

W Ikwanima oma kinitawimikawik oma takwi, takwi pimitsahamihk ika tawipinamik kakiyakway ika tamocokatikoyikwaw oki, moniyawak
It is this, all of this, that we want you to keep, to follow this way of life, not to throw it away and replace it with foolish behaviors taught to you by non-native people.

V Sakaw pimacihowin kwikanonamohk

Bush survival should also be kept as a way of life

V Oskayak takwi kanawitahkwaw nihiyaw isitawin

Young people try to maintain the Cree way of life

V Sakaw pimacisowin takakwi pimitisahamik, ika takwi wipinamihk

Bush way of life should be followed and should not be thrown away

2. Mistahi kayas ki asakiwak asci ki wikotowak

Feasts and celebrations were a way of life long ago

W Oma kamiyoskamik tapiskohc kimawicitawak wiyas kapohk, kakiwakwa ositatwaw, ispi ikwa kamiyoskamik ikwa ki-ositatwak wikotow-simowin

Long ago, during the early spring, people would preserve meat for the winter, they would make dry meat, then in early spring they would have a celebration, a feast

W Iwikotow-simowin iko iki manito itakwaw iki apacihikotwaw

A feast was greatly appreciated, respected and worked for the people

W Ikwa kocitokisikahk mina ikohta ki-ayawak imocikitatwaw. Kakiyawiyak iki asakiht wikihk kapitikwawat imicisoyin ikohta anima kikway imiyosihk imawicitatwaw moswa oma ohci kikway

At kissing day (New Year's) they would have celebrations. Everyone would hold a feast; when you arrived you would eat. They would save all the delicacies of the moose for this occasion

V Iki manito-itakwaw wikoto-simowin iki apacihikotwaw
Cree celebrations were strong and respected

V Kakiyawiyak ki-asakiw kocitokisikahk, imocikitatwaw
Everyone fed people on kissing day, they had fun

3. Kiyapic anohc asonamatohk nihiyaw maskiki ikwa isitawin asci mitoni isokipayik kispin kitapwakitin
Today Cree medicine ways and spirituality are still passed down and are very powerful if you believe in it.

W Ikwa kotak mina ki-ositawak maka moya mihcit ayisiniw ikoyow ki-ohci kaskitaw. Aya kosapahtamowin kisikatiw.
There was also another lodge they built but not too many knew this ceremony. It is called the shaking tent ceremony.

V Kosapahtamowin mina maka moya mihcit ayisinowak ohci kaskitawak
Shaking tent ceremony was important but not too many could perform this ceremony

V Kisokipayo ikosisi kikway nihiyaw isicikiwin
This way of life was very powerful

V Wikotowin iki asonamatohk
Spiritual celebrations were passed down

W Ikwa wikotowin mina kiyasowinamatowak, kakisiniwiht

ispi awiyak ika taki nipahtaht kikway taki wikotonikiht, ikohta ikwa okosa kimiyiw ikosi tisicikiht

These ceremonies were also passed down, when a person became too old to perform healing then he will hold a feast and at the feast he would pass it down to his son to carry on with these rituals

W Kiyapic anohc ikihn nihiyaw maskiki tamamisitotaman, kikway

tapacihikoyin, but, piko mitoni tatapowakitaman

Today, if you believe in Cree medicine, it will work for you, but you have to believe in it

W Ikwa kisokipayiwa kikway ikosisi, taskohc awiyak tapiwitahk ikonima anima ikohta tapiht, tapapihtaht, ikoni kaki takopiswakit piminakwana, kiyapic takopitititiwa katawawikoht ikoni anihi

Ceremonies were very powerful. If you showed disrespect and laughed while you sat through one then the ropes which were used to tie up the medicine man, still tied up, would fall and hit you

4. Kispin kwayask kitatoskan ikwa kwayask kitipahikan mistahi kanisokamoson

Establish good work ethics, pay your bills and it will help you out

W Kispin kwayask itipahikin, inihta tipahikin, ika imicimoci askataman kimasinahikiwina mihcit ayisiniw niki ohcici wapimaw, mistahi ikitimahisoht ikosisi iwayisikimoskiht ikwa

If you paid your bills right, a good creditor, if you did not leave your bills unpaid, I saw a lot of people who were really poor because they left their bills unpaid and tried to fool people

W Ikwanima ata oma kapikiskwiyan namoya aya ikwi kikamihtakwaw

maka, nika miwitiyin takociyihk ohti nikan, tanikohk miyo wihowin ayaw ayisiniw, kwayask kisicikwiniht ikwa mina kwayask kakwi pimacihisot

What I am saying to you, I am not angry with you, I am not telling you off, I want to share with you, I will be happy if you try in the future to make a good name for yourselves, the way you handle business and the way you live.

V Miyawsin ayisiniw kanihta tapahikiht

It is good if you can pay your bills on time

V Tahkwi akamimoyihk tahkwi pimacihisoyihk

Try hard to make your own living

W Ikwa takwi ahkam imimoyihk kistatwaw takwi pimacihisoyihk

Try to continue to strive for earning your own livelihood

5. Kaya otinamok oma kapitotamihk mina minihkiwin ikwa asatowin

Stay away from drugs, alcohol and welfare

W Ikwa mina, ika nastaw kimihkwiwinwaw takwi nocitayihk, ikwa oma mina macikikway mastaw kapitwatamihk

Also, do not waste your time on drunkenness and drugs are also not good for you

W Kaya nayistaw mamisihk tanisokamakawiyihk welfare oma kisikatihk

Do not depend on help from other places especially the one called welfare

V Ika naystaw takwi minihkwiyihk

Stay away from alcohol drinking

V Macikikway oma kapitohtamihk

Drugs are not good

V Kaya naystaw mamisihk welfare

Don't depend on welfare

6. Kwayask pamihowasohk ispi kisopikitwawi kapinanitawapimkowawak

Treat your children right and they will appreciate it

V Mamitonim kitawasimisak kwayask paminihkohk

Think about your children and treat them right

W Ocawasimisiyiko kwayask kwiy paminikohk, kasakihikowawak naspihc, ispi kisiyayiko kotihtikowawak tahki kicawasimisowawak ipi-nitaw wapim koyikwaw

When you have children, treat them right, they will love you very much, when you are old they will visit you often

Story #2

1. Ki-ayiman pimacihowin maka kimasko-atisowak ayisinowak
Survival was difficult but man had strength and endurance because of it

W Kayas ayisiniw kimaskowatiso
Long ago people were healthy

W Anohc itimayiso ayisiniw ikawikac sakahk kapimohtiht
Today we hurt ourselves because we never walk in the bush

V Ayisiniwak kisipiwisowak kayas
People had endurance long ago

W Wicasin osam miskanak tapimohtihk
It's too easy to walk on the road

V Kinwis onocicikiw kipimatiso
Trappers lived a long life

V Moya kinwis ayisiniw takipimatiso wawiyahk kawinoht
A person who is too fat can't live long

V Ikitimahisoyihk oma ika wikac kapimohtiyihk sakahk
You are treating yourself poorly because you never walk in the bush

W Tanakatitahk ayisiniw ika tahkwi winoht
A person should watch he doesn't get too fat

V Mistahi tapimohtayin kispin mistahi kiwinon

You have a lot to carry if you are fat

W Kayas ki-ayaman pimachihowin

Life was tough long ago

W Ki-nayitawan kayas

It was difficult long ago

V Kayas ki-ayiman

Long ago, it was tough

2. Napiw tikikawiyin poko kwayask kapimacihoyin

A man is someone who makes an honest living

W Namoya napiw kispin namoya kipimacihisow awiyak kispin ata nihta misinocihiw awiya

You are not a man if you can't earn your own living even if you can beat someone else up

W Napiw awiyak kanihta pihkotahat kikway tanisokamowat otayisinima

A man is someone who can help bring things in which will help his people

V Ayisiniw tahkwi pimacihisoht ikwa takwi nisokamowat kotaka iwako napiw

A person is a man who works for his living and helps others

V Ayisiniw ka-aywakimoht ikwa ika kaki pimacihisoht namoya iko napiw

A person with an aggressive, negative attitude who can't feed himself is not a man

W Kispin kiwi napikason pimacihowin ohci napikaso
If you want to be called a man earn your title by earning your living

V Kispinatamasohk kikway kakawatamihk, katawistamasoyihk
Earn your money to buy what you desire

W Mamitonitamohk, nitaw atoskihk
Think for yourselves, go and work

W Atawiyik kikway kanitawitamik
Buy what you want

3. Kakwiy miyowicitohk
Try to learn to get along with each other

W Takwi miyowicitoht ayisiniw
People should try to get along with each other

V Imocot awiyak kakitimahat awiyak imiyonat
A person who takes advantage of another is stupid

W Mamitonitamohk kwayask tisipimatisiyihk
Think about living a good life

4. Kaya kaki mosakinamohk ohi maci pimatisowin taskohc kimotowin, pikwatahikiwin, kiskwipiwin ikwa ocasahkiw pimatisowin
Stay away from behaviors we do not appreciate such as theft, vandalism, drunkeness and welfare living

V Mahkikway inikaniht ayisiniw kapam kimoht asci kapam pikwatahikiht

No one gets ahead by stealing, breaking and entering

W Namoya miyawisin oskayak kapam sikwatahikitwaw ikwa kapam kimohtwaw

It is not good for young people to go around breaking and entering to steal

V Ayisiniw kitisk iwiyasowatiht ikwa tanakatimiht piko kahki

A person goes to court and he/she is watched constantly

W Katinaw awiyak misawac kakimoht

A person is caught when he steals

V Ohtaw katinaw piyisk ayisiniw

A person gets caught sooner or later

V Osampiko naha ika kikway kitakamikisiht kakipahot ikwa naha kanikanit miyo wihowin imisoht

Most likely it is the one who did not break the law who goes to jail while the one who did it gives himself a good name

W Naha misihaw askaw kanisosiht asci kakostaht nihi kanikaniht

The one who is weak and scared of the leader carries the crime

W Askaw ayisiniw imocipahisoht asci maskiki iyotinahk makikway nakiwin

Sometimes a person who is drunk and on drugs will have no discipline

W Ayisiniw piyakwaw kamocopahisoht ikwa maskiki kotinahk makikway nakiwin
Once a person gets so drunk and takes drugs there is no stopping

W Papihaw awiyak welfare ko-ohci pimacihot
Someone who lives on welfare is laughed at

W Namoya miyonakwan asatowin to-ohci pimacihok
It doesn't look right to live off welfare

V Kaya welfare, kakwi ohci pimacihok tapipihikawiyik
Do not live on welfare so others can laugh at you

W Kaya wicihk awiyak ikosi kitatisiht kamayakowaw
Do not follow someone who is not good he will frame you

W Kaya kakwi otinamok ikwanima "dope"
Do not take "dope"

V Kaya otinamok iwako maskiki
Do not take this drug

Summary and Validation of Themes in Joe Logan's Stories

My first validation visit was with Joe Logan and his wife Margaret. I had initially contacted Joe by telephone and he was excited that we were coming over to see him. Joe informed me that he had sold his house in Calling Lake and he was now living in Athabasca. He had to give precise directions so we wouldn't get lost. It was a nice summer day and Joe was waiting patiently for us. As we sat down to get re-acquainted we discussed various events in our lives.

Joe had been quite ill and I had dropped in on him at the Royal Alex hospital in Edmonton. He told me about his hospital stay and Margaret talked about his health and the move they had to make to accomodate his check-ups. Both Joe and Margaret expressed the loneliness they were experiencing since they moved. They told me very few people dropped in on them. I made two trips to see Joe because of distance and time. It was difficult and unreasonable to try to view both stories and validate the themes on my first trip.

On my initial visit, we viewed the tape first without any discussion because there had been such a lapse of time since we did the actual storytelling session. Margaret enjoyed watching Joe on tape. There was quite a discussion about the boys who were the audience and where they are today.

I went over each theme and Joe responded with an agreement and restated for himself and for me to check for meaning. Joe was in a very pensive mood and each section we discussed took him on a different tangent and a new story. We had a short discussion on each theme.

Throughout both of his stories Joe stressed the need to be honest, work hard and make your own living. He went into quite a lengthy discussion about this topic; he was quite upset with the way people took the easy way out and went on welfare. He stated that one should make his own living and stay away from the welfare system.

On the second validation trip which happened on another day, Joe stated that life was tough and one had to learn to work hard. To Joe, working hard is a valuable asset. If one works hard then one gains recognition for his effort. We strive for recognition and approval from others around us. If we do our work well and do not 'toot our own horns' then others will do it for us. That recognition by others is very important.

The way we treat people is important to Joe. He asks people to strive for positive qualities such as kindness and thought before action, in other words good decision making. Joe made the statement that people should try to learn to get along with each other. This quality should become a part of one's life. He mentioned an honest man who was raising his own children and how he became a part of a drinking party and he was knifed to death just recently in their home community.

Joe stressed to his audience the importance of staying away from alcohol, drugs, vandalism and welfare living. He talked directly about this and he noted how it influences other areas of people's lives. This connection is noted in the previous section about the individual who was knifed to death at a drinking party. Joe makes a point of sharing his own life history and how he never once sat in a welfare office for the welfare lady to demean him and tell him off for asking for help. Joe, in his concluding statement, mentioned that many times events could have been prevented if people would just stay away from alcohol.

Louise Yellowknee of Wabasca, Alberta

Personal Background Information

My name is Louise Yellowknee, I will be 62 years old on the 21st of this month of September. I have raised ten children, six boys and four girls. As for my parents, they came from Lac La Biche, this land also has a Cree name, it is called Elk Lake, it is here, it has been told, where a lot of native people came from. My grandmother, my father's mother told us these stories. People escaped from this location during the time of Big Bear and his battle, this is when we moved to the bush, as we were told. As for my mom, they say that is also where our own parents came from, Elk Lake, as I have stated. Many of our elders also came from this area, the ones living here who arrived here in Wabasca. Then for my siblings, I have to count here for a minute. There were 13 of us, there are 10 of us still living today.

Story #1

Cree Version

Nikacimoson, wiyatacimowinis oma, kayas isa awa moniyaw aya iwisamat nihiyawa tamahapoyikoht, aya sipihk. Tapwi tikwi oma ikwana moniyaw oma kaya wiciwiw maka kakway isa aya akayasimowin awa nihiyaw ikaki inistohtahk ikwa wista awa nihi-moniyaw moya kikway aya nistohtahk nihiyawiwin. Aw kinwis itohkwi oma itohkwi oma aya ka-mahapoyitwaw piyisk isa iwi ati tipiskayik. Wa-ispitawikohk isa mana awa nihiyaw, wi-tipiskaw kitaht isa mana ohi moniyawa, moya isa awa nanakasotawiw simak moniyaw. Maa tapwi isa mana oma kiyapic, wi-tipiskaw, nisawaw anima asay ikosi ikwa kitaht. Wawa ati ihkitahk awa itohkwi nihiyaw, wi-tipiskaw kitaht isa ayi sohkis isa ikwa nawac nawac isa ikwa moniyawa tikwana kanakasotahk ikwa awa moniyaw. Ikwanima isa ikwa ayi," if you tip the skaw I'll drown you" kitaht isa awa moniyaw iwi tipiskayik oma moy' iwi aya moya iwi kwatapinkoht.

English Translation

I will tell about an event, it is a funny event, long ago a whiteman asked a Cree man to take him out on a skaw, on the river. So it is true, this whiteman travelled with this Cree who spoke no English and this whiteman did not understand any Cree. So they canoed for quite a while, soon it was getting dark. I suppose this Cree man would make a statement to this whiteman that it was getting dark but he said it in Cree, the whiteman did not pay any attention to him. The Cree man was persistent, it is getting dark, he would say, he had said it to him twice before. Finally, he was getting concerned, he said it to him louder, the whiteman took notice of him and thought he understood him. He turned around and he said to him, "if you tip the skaw, I'll drown you, the whiteman said to the Cree, but the Cree was trying to tell him it was getting dark, he wasn't trying

to tip the skaw.

Story #2

Cree Version

Iko mina nikatohtin ana nipihk kocopihkiht, piyakwaw iko oma, kayas oma ikosi ispayik ota oma ota ta oma kakam pikiskwatan. Ikwana aya nipapas ipitakotiht ohta, ipi nitatamoht osi, ma awa wiya ki-ayaw nikisinim aya, moya imisahk otisi mak-iwihk taki apatahk. Tapwi ikwa oma, nasipitawak ikwa ikoyo otis sipihk oma ota, oma ota nipisikopaw sipihk. Ah-tapwi ikwa oma aya, ati pa-posicikiw iwako awa nipapas, posicikiw ocapacicawinisa, wa ikosi anima ikwa kitihkot onahakisima, ikohta anima mitoni imayapiht ikwana asiniy mitoni piko tinahkatitamihk kitaht oma ohisa. Ah moya taki witamowaw awiyak nipihk iyohci opihkiyan kitwit awa nipapas. Ah, tapwi ikwa, tapwi ikwa, inimitasowipahak ikwa oma ayi os-osi oma, mitoni ikohta kanitaw takocipayik ikoni ani kaki witamat asiniya ikoni, ikohta imayapiht ikwana asiniy kaki itiht, mitoni ikohta ocotis kanitaw takocipayik. Watistaka ikosi soskwac ikwa kwanita iyitaw ay ayi it-itakotihk iko oma otis, soskwac ikwapwipahikimakahk aya. Wa-pasapataw ocapacicawinisa awa, ikosi isa ikwa kawi ikwanima ikwa ayi, iko awa kaki itwit ika takwi witamaht ayi nipihk kaki ohci opihkiht. Kwanita ikwa ikohta imakwimoht iyo-itipwataht onahakisima. Ocipisihk, ocipisihk kwanita iyakam itwit ikwa awa, tapwi ikwa oki wiyawaw ikwa aya ocipitiwak nikos asci. Watistaka ikosi ikwa kapatisocikiht ikwa sapacikiw, otakopa sapahiw oma. Ikosi ikwa papa papa papasikiw ikwa. Awa ikwa aya nicawasimisak ikohta wistawaw iyayatwaw kakiyaw, napisak ikwa iskwisak ikwa, ikosi ikwa kitaht ayi osima," kaya ikwa ota kapitahkamikisinawaw". Iwi-itaht ikwa tapiskohc ikwa iwanahikoht osima moya maka ayisk ata. Ah tapwi ikwa ikosi ikwa aya, ta-ikonihk ani ikwa ayi pi ipi-kospitisahwawak omosomwawa. Tapwi ikwa oti ikwa wanayihk ikwa ohci, kanitaw ay kimotapitwaw, ikwa oma ayi iposiyiht ikwa kawi. Aw-tapwi maka wi-oma ka-kakimotapimatwaw. Ah nistanan nipitikwanan waskahikanik wi-ika kwaykohk ohci sakahk mitoni mos iki nokwak. Niti ohci wasinamawinihk om kakanawapimayahk, ikohti oma kapimapoyit ikwa nipapas, wa-wiyatawiya sipwi-apoyo awa nipihk kocopihkiht nitanan ikwa awa. Wistawaw awasak oma pi-kospatawak sipwi apoyo nimosom nipihk kocopihkiht isi itwitwa oki nitawasimisak. Soskwac moya apisis ipapiyahk ikwanima ohci. Iyamahk, kihtiyaya ayisk oma kway kakwi witamaht ci, moya ayi, askaw moya kitapwitahk ikohk wapatahki ita tapwi icikana, ikohta.

English Translation

I will also tell the story of the one who was raised by the water, this happened once a long time ago, here, where we are talking right now. This was my uncle, he arrived here, he came to borrow a canoe, my old man had one, it wasn't a very big canoe but it still served the purpose. So, its true, they took the small canoe to the river, here

where we are, by the willows. Yes, it is true, he put his belongings in the boat, my uncle that is, then his son-in-law told him, there in one area there is a big rock in a bad place, you have to be careful, he told his father-in-law. Ah, you can't tell anyone that has been raised by the water, replied my uncle. So, its true, he pushed the canoe out to the river, at exactly where he was told not to go is where his canoe went, right on top of that rock, the one he was told about, the rock in a bad place, that is where his canoe went, right on top this rock. Ah, so his canoe went back and forth dipping into the water and getting water into the canoe. His belongings got wet, so it was for the one who couldn't be offered advice because he was raised by the water. He got worried and called his son-in-law. Pull me, pull me, he told them, so they all got in to help him out, my son was there too. He got his stuff out, they were all wet, his blankets were wet, so he dried them. My children were all there, all my boys and girls, so he turned and told all his grandchildren "don't come around here anymore". He was telling his grandchildren that they were too close and upset his concentration, but that wasn't so. They came up they were sent up by their grandfather. So they came and they observed from the back area. They peeked at their grandfather, they watched him get back in. We went inside too, into our house, there wasn't much bush so we could see clearly. We watched him from a window, there he was gliding on the water, my uncle, he was able to glide this time, this man who was raised on water, as he was christened. The kids came running back and said, he left, our grandfather who was raised by the water. We laughed and laughed about the incident. It is difficult to tell an elder anything, sometimes they won't believe you, until they see it, that's all.

Cultural Themes in Louise Yellowknee's Stories

Story #1

1. Ayiman tanistohtahtoht ayisiniw kispin papitos isipikiskwitwaw
   It is hard to understand each other when one speaks a different language

V Awa moniyaw isa iwisamat ohi nihiyawa tamahapoyitwaw, ikwa awa moniyaw ika inistohtahk nihiyawiwin ikwa awa nihiyaw ika
inistohtahk akayasimow
A whiteman invited a Cree to travel with him down the river, the whiteman did not understand Cree and the Cree did not understand English

W Kayas isa awa moniyaw aya iwisamat nihiyawa tamahapoyikoht, aya sipihk. Tapwi tikwi oma ikwana oma kaya wiciwiw makwiy kikway isa ya akayasimowin awa nihiyaw ikaki inistohtahk wista awa nihi-moniyaw moya kikway aya nistohtahk nihiyawiwin

Long ago a whiteman asked a Cree to take him out on a skaw, on the river. So it is true, this whiteman travelled with this Cree who spoke no English and this whiteman did not understand any Cree

2. Wicasin kawanistohtatoht ayisiniw
   It is easy to misunderstand each other

V Awa isa moniyaw inakasotawat ohi nihiyawa maka ohci ika inistohtawat. Awa nihiyaw ikakwiy witamowat iwitipiskayik moya ata iwitikwatapitaht
The whiteman misunderstood the Cree and he was upset. The Cree was trying to tell him it was getting dark he had no intention of tipping the skaw

W Ikwanima isa ikwa ayi, "if you tip the skaw I"ll drown you" kitaht isa awa moniyaw iwi tipiskayihk oma moya iwi kwatipinkoht
He turned around and he said to him, "if you tip the skaw, I'll drown you, the whiteman said to the Cree but the Cree was trying to tell him it was getting dark, he wasn't trying to tip the skaw

Story #2

1. Mistahi ayiman askaw kakakwiy witaman kikway
   Sometimes it is difficult to give advice

V Nakatihtan ikohta anima mayanohk iyapiht asiniy. Moya kaki witamowaw awiyak nipihk iyohci opihkiht

Be careful there is a rock there in a very bad place. You can't give advice to someone who has been raised by the water

W Wa ikosi anima ikwa kitihkit onahakisisma, ikohta anima mitoni imayapiht ikwana asiniy mitoni piko tinahkatitamihk kitaht oma ohisa. Ah moya taki witamowaw awiyak nipihk iyohci opihkiyan kitwit awa nipapas

Then his son-in-law told him, there in one area there is a big rock in a bad place, you have to be careful, he told his father-in -law. Ah, you can't tell anyone that has been raised by the water, replied my uncle

2. Askaw kiyanaw ika kwayask inakatihtamak

At times, our lack of concentration is of our own doing

V Ikitohtaht mina osima itaht ika ikota kapiy ah itakamihksiht tapiskohc anima iwanahikoht

He said to his grandchildren, don't come around here, he was trying to blame them for his lack of concentration but it wasn't so

W Awa ikwa aya nicamwsimisak ikohta wistawaw iyayatwaw kakiyaw, napisak ikwa iskwisak ikwa, ikosi ikwa kitaht aya osima, "kaya ikwa ota kapitahkamikisinawaw". Iwi-itaht ikwa tapiskohc ikwa iwanahikoht osima moya maka ayisk ata

My children were all there, all my boys and girls, so he turned and told all his grandchildren, "don't come around here anymore". He was telling his grandchildren they were too close and upset his concentration but that wasn't so

3. Ayiwak ayiman kakakwiy witamaht kihtiyayaha piko wiyawaw tanisi itihtakwaw

It is difficult to tell an elder anything, until they see it for themselves

V Ayiman kikway tawitamaht kihtiyaya namoy katapwitahk kispin poko ikosi ki-ispayow

It's hard to tell an elder something he/she may not believe you unless he/she actually had the same type of experience

W Iyamahk, kihtiyaya ayisk oma kway kakwi witamaht ci, moya ayi, askaw moya kitapwitahk ikohk wapatahki ita tapwi icikana, ikohta

It is difficult to tell an elder anything, sometimes they won't believe you, until they see it, that's all

Summary and Validation of Themes in Louise Yellowknee's Stories

My visit to validate the stories with Louise was relaxing and enjoyable. We spent some time sitting and getting re-acquainted. We were also offered something to eat, an expected event which takes place when one has travelled to visit. Louise was aware of the time we would be arriving; therefore her husband George had prepared a meal and the gesture as soon as we arrived was to offer tea and something to eat. After a light meal we sat down and viewed the tape. I informed Louise I took the first two stories she told and I discussed the process I used to come up with the themes. I went over the themes for each story separately.

Both of Louise Yellowknee's stories were meant to entertain, to make people laugh. She states this in her introduction of the story she is going to tell; she notes it is a funny story. Oral storytelling is for entertaining, for disciplining children, for noting historical events, to preach and counsel and to share personal experiences. The point which was shared by Louise was that many of these are personal events which are passed down and are told over and over again. The term "acimowin" is translated "to tell about" or "to talk about". Freda Ahenakew in her work with Cree elders translates the term "acimowina" to stories. Louise elaborated that long ago people told of funny events and happenings which were a part of their life experiences to make people laugh. She stated that her dad told her many funny stories she can't remember today. Louise also indicated that teasing was a part of this entertaining and that it is disappearing. The teasing and funny stories are part of the entertainment in social gatherings amongst Cree people. It is fast disappearing unless you are a part of an elders group which reflects this jesting, teasing and joking in social gatherings. Louise talked about jokes they played on direct relatives such as first cousins (cross parallel cousins) and relatives by marriage such as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. They used to do this in a sneaky manner because if they were caught then the person would have to pay them back with something just as embarrassing.

Language, a key for communicating, was one theme which was discussed and Louise elaborated on understanding. It is so easy to misunderstand each other although we may speak the same language; therefore it is even more tricky to gain understanding if the languages spoken are different. Louise stated we often listen to languages with an ear for familiar sounds although we know the languages are very different. We have a tendency of grabbing onto sounds which are familiar to us. This is noted in the funny story when the Cree and White were trying to communicate with each other. They did not understand each other's language and therefore it became easy to misunderstand each other. The sounds are similiar but mean something totally different. She also elaborated by stating how difficult it is for us to understand each other as groups of people. This is in reference to Cree people and mainstream society. Louise noted although one works with the white people there are many instances they do not understand each other. She stated it is good to have fluency in more than one language.

Louise talked about how we learn from our mistakes. It is difficult to give advice to someone who does not want to listen and therefore the onus is on the person to learn from the mistake. Louise said, " we teach ourselves from our own mistakes". We learn how to change our behavior so it won't happen again. She said it is like sewing. Louise told me when she made her first pair of moccasins, she had to take them apart and redo them because she did not have full understanding of her mom's verbal instructions. She was told she had to learn how to make moccasins if she was going to take a husband.

Louise talks about how her children were blamed for the elder's lack of concentration; although they did not have anything to do with the actual mishap they were reprimanded for the incident. It is difficult to save face when one is not willing to take advice from others especially when it results in an embarrassing mistake. We are all learners and sometimes even the elders need a bit of advice.

Noel Grey of Atikameg, Alberta

Personal Background Information

My father was born in Wabasca. My mother was born here in Atikameg. Both of my grandmothers on my father's side and my mother's side were from here. They were raised here in Atikameg. We had problems with our name because my dad only had a Cree name, "Waciwino" before the treaty came to be. Here in Atikameg, no one had a last name before the treaty. When the treaty was signed this is when people started using last names. Take for example, some of these people who had Cree names like "Kisipapamotiw" then they used this as a surname, an old man had this name therefore his children used this as a surname. Nahachick, the old man was called "Nahatakoskom" so to make it short they named them Nahachick. Long ago there were no last names. You used just one name. Take my dad,for instance, he was just called "Waciwino", he wasn't referred to as a Grey, he was called by his name Waciwino while he was alive because this was his given name. My older sister Emily used this last name "Waciwino", the eldest in the family, she is registered with the government as Waciwino. My brother Dolphus and I are registered as Grey as our last name. My dad was registered as a Grey much later that's why we became known as Grey. This is why things have become difficult with the Treaty. We used only Cree names. Therefore, for some to receive old age pension it becomes difficult because some of them have given themselves new names and not what they are known as. The government had difficulty locating them. It takes a long time because of this name change and they find out they are registered under another name. It makes everything difficult because long ago there were no last names.

The way we lived long ago was hunting, fishing, trapping and snaring rabbits. That was the way we made our living. There was no farming, we made hay but that wasn't farming.

I am 78 years old and I have six children living and three died. I lived here since birth in Atikameg. I have travelled to work in different places such as the Yukon. I worked there for four months.

Story #1

Cree Version

Oma mana ninan awasiwiyak, iki wa-wisakastiw kawiyak mana. Iko oma kayas iki itikawiyahk mana ninan oma, iyopikiyahk, manacihayakwaw kihtiyayahk, mina kotakahk ayisinowak. Apiw ikosisi nistisinanahk, nimisinanahk, kikway kitikoyakwaw moya tapikiswiyahk, moya tanaskwisimayakwaw. Ikosi kispin imostinkawiyahk inaskwimayakwaw kimisinocihikawin. Iko ikwaykohk iki iki-man-manacihitoht ayisiniw kayas. Ikwa, iki acimohayakwaw mana oki kihtiyayahk, nipapananak mana iki mikoyakwaw stimasa, wapahki ki-itaw ikona stimaw, plug, omisi isi sakawist omis. Ikotowak imikawiyahk initaw miyayakwaw kihtiyayahk, acimohayakwaw oma. Apiw ayi kikway tasipwihamakoyakwaw nikamon, ikosisi mana iki ayi itikawiyahk miyayakwaw. Oma kotakosihk oma mitoni piyahtihk maa-mawiyahk, moya ohci pakitinawak awasak tamitawitwaw. Kapakisimohk, kipitohkwitisahowtwaw kakiyaw piyahtihk iyayahk, kakiyaw, piyahtihk moya ayi, moy-moya imitawitwaw

awasak. Moya-moy ipitohkwitwaw kakiyaw, ikitihtwaw mana tapiskohc ayi, iki itikawiyahk oti mana, tapiskohc ayi ahkosowin tapitohtamak, kakiya kikway macikikway pitohtamak, ahkosowin ipitohtamak, ikwa ipi-pitohkwisahow kawiyahk mana. I-iko ata kwayask iki isi pamihikawiyahk ikisi paminikawiyahk, moya mina kikway nitoh-ayi, oma kway kitikawiyahk, moy-moya tayiwiskamak, piko tapwitwaw wiyawaw. Moy-moy kikway, moy-moy tapikiskwiyahk, moya tanaskwismayakwaw kikway. Kispin nimamanan iwi-naskwisimayahk ipikiwit nipapa kispin itakosihk, witamowaw nimisinocihikonan ikwa wiya. Ikosi iki ispayik kayas, ninan wiya. Ikwa iko oma aya, moy-moy mosi napiw ohci ay ohci apiw, wi-imacihk piko isi pimacisihk. Macihk piko, imaciht awa napiw, pitakosihk, imawasakonat ikwa ayisiniwa nakwatisoht inatakwaw wiyas, mistatimok, inakwatisohtwaw, sakahk, wahiyaw. Askaw wahiyaw, askaw initaw katikwonihk, wahiyawiskamik, wiya ika ohci mihcit moswa kayas, moya tapiskohc anohc ayaw ikwa moswa, maka kayas moya. Moya mina wapos ohci mihcit. Taskohc mana iyatotakwaw aya kayas pamayis niya initawi-aya ma, iki pamipihtwaw mana ikosisi makway waskahikan kayas, makway, ma-makway, makway latwel. Ki-kikway iki apakwasotwaw, aya, pakikinwa, mihkitakwaw, matahakwaw, moya ikisinakwaw. Ikosisi atiht, atiht kisinkatikwaw,ikoni ikwa mikowap ositatwaw, iwiwikwatakwaw ikwa mikowap. Kwiyak wiya makway latwel kayas. Makway, makway pahkwisikan, makway liti, kayas mana iyatotakwaw.

Ikwa maskikiwatikwa iyapacitatwaw kikway olitimitwaw, ikwa ayi ikonima ikwa, kakiya kikway ayi ikosisi, ikwa mina makway, makway wiyakan, aya wasko-yakana iki apacitatwaw. Waskwaya ohi iwinahkwaw, micimaskwahakwaw. Ikohtowik mina ayi iki kisakamisikitwaw, kota astaht nipiy astatwaw ikwa cikistotik iyastik, ohtiw, nilitikan micitwaw nilitikan niya oma kaki pam nocicikiyan ikohtowik. Cikiskotik iyastayan, moya kistiw, ikwa ayi ikwanima ikwa, ikwanima ikwa ayi, mahmoya nikiskisin moy nikisikisin ikwa tanisi titwiyan.

English Translation

For us when we were kids, we used to get whippings. Long ago we were told, as we were growing, to respect elders and other people as well. For example, our older brothers, our older sisters, when they told us something we were not to talk back or give a smart reply. If we did and we were found out then we would get a whipping. This the sense of respect people had for each other long ago. Then we also used to ask the elders for stories, our fathers would give us tobacco, which was called wapahki, plug, shaped like this. This is what we were given to give to the elders for storytelling. Sometimes it would be for songs, this was the way it was we were told to give something to the elder. The evening was for quiet time together, children weren't allowed to play. At sunset, all the children were sent inside to sit quietly, everyone, to stay quiet, children did not play. If everyone did not come inside, we were told we would call and descend sickness on ourselves, everything evil would descend on us. Sickness would arrive if we weren't sent inside. This was a good way of disciplining children, we were raised properly, if we were told something we had to listen with no reply, they had to be right. We could not talk or reply. If we talked back to our mother when my dad got home then he was told and we would get a whipping from him.

To carry on, the man was not home very much, he was hunting to make a living. We had to hunt, a man had to hunt, when he arrived he would gather up people to get the meat to travel by horse to the bush far away. Sometimes because it was so far away they would have to spend the night, because back then moose was not very plentiful, not like it is today. Even rabbit was scarce. As we have been told long ago before I was born when they used to move from place to place there were no houses not even tarp. They used to use moosehide for lean-to's with the hair removed but the hide was not completely dried. Some would be completely dried and if they were they would set up teepee's, the hide would be wrapped around. There was no tarp long ago. There was no flour, no tea, they told us about this. They would use herbal medicine for tea, they lived like this long ago, they had no dishes they would use birchbark dishes. They would shape the birchbark and pour water into it and put it near the fire, it would boil, I

have made tea many times like this when I used to go trapping. You place it near the fire, it doesn't burn, and also, and now I have forgotten what I was going to say.

Story #2

Cree Version

Oh-ohti inociciki-inocaskwiyan, isikwak ohti sipiy Atikamik sipiy oma. Ikohti mamihk ikohti kaki mana iki piyakoyan. Ikwa ikohti ayi ninocicikan. Kinwisis nitayan mak-makway iyapakwiyan sipa sihtik iwikiyan, inipayan. Niso niso atimok piko niwiciwawak nayitahakwaw, ikititapiyan ohti ohci maka niti iyati nakatastimoyan atimok ikwa ohti mamihk ikwa, ikakway miskanaw ikospi. Ikohti ikwa nitayan nantaw niwo, niyanan tipiskaw nitayan ikohti. Kitatawi itipiskahk ikwa niyanan tipiskaw ispayik, kitatawi atimok kamamikisimotwaw, nikoskomikwak itipiskahk. Ikaskitipiskahk oma, ikwa ayi ikwanima ikwa ota ayi ikwa, niponin, iki kwayat ascasiyan mihtisa kikispa taponaman, niponin, ikwa kisowak ikota kawaskotikwaw mistikwa ohi nipisiya nipisiyitakwa, kawaskotikwaw. Ikohta ikwa ayi, nitaw, nitaw oh-otinin nitaw ma-manipitin ikoni nimisiponin, mitoni nimisiponin. Soskwac pitowisin awiyak ohti, awiyak ohti ohti pici akamihk, akamihk sipihk, ikwa ani ayi, ikoni ikohta ikwa, nikitohtawak mana oki atimok. Makikway, makway, ponotamok, makway ipinakiht awa matiw, kaskitipiskahk asoni ikohti ayi wiya ispatinahk ikwa sihtak icimasohtwaw, ayiwak ikohti wantipiskaw. Maka ohi sipihk mana oskipimakwa icikatiwa nipisiya osawakwaw kisastaw ikoni aya mana ipastikwaw mana, ipastikwaw mana ikohta awascahis, ayi tikipa kotaka ati opihkikwaw. Ikoni ikohtowak ipi nanotwaskahk ikohti, pahkiskwak, ikwana ayi, ikwana ayi. Ikonima ikohta ikwa, ayi nimitasin ikwa nipaskisikan rifle nitakonin, nimitasin nitohtinin ikwa nipitason, nisto nitasowatan mosiniya. Nimitasin ikwa ikohta, nimitasin ayi ispatina-ipaskwacahk, ipaskwatinasihk, kohta soni sipihk kiskacaw. Ikohta mañtwi matawiso ikwa akamihk mah-moya niki wapimaw wi-ikaskitipiskahk, moy niki wapimaw. Ikohta ikwa soskwac ikwa nanawakipayhon om-omisi nita ispayihon. Mwici kikway iwapataman ititaman inicikahk ikohti, kapipakastawikwaskoht, wa-wasipayow nipiy oma, wiwasipayow nipiy oma wi-kwaskwinahk. Ninicikisin ohta nicikiso ohta apitawakam ohta kota nipaskiswaw, kwiskipayiho oti ma-mapayiho oti, piyakwaw piko kwaskiwipayiho, casamina ikohta nipaskiswaw, casamina ohpiw piyakwaw piko ohpiw casamina. Asamina ikohta, asamina ikohta nipaskiswaw. Kakiyaw ikwa nimosinima, makway ikwa, maka ati, ati sipwiciso mana, ati nakiw, nom ikosisi, piyatihk, mitoni piyatihk. Soskwac, soskwac ayi, soskwac ayi nipiy maka tihkwiy maka kisihk maka mihko asci nima itihkwiy, soskwac ayi ocikawik ocikawik, ikwanima nipiy itikwiy asci iwaswinahk, kwanima ikwa ikohta nikospin ikwa. Nimosinima initaw nitonin ikwa, ikohta waskic iki astayan ayi iti itiskwi nitaskwisimonihk isi iki astikwaw, ikonina ikwa anihi kawanihtayan, naywas aya kakiyaw nitanaskasona mina iyotinaman. Awasko ohi ikohti kastikwaw nimosinina, itamihk initaw ispayik mina, ikwanima, ikohti nitiy nistikwanihk itisi iki astayan. Nitohtinin nipitason ikwa, maka ikwa otisi ikwa ati ayaw oma ayi otisi ati ayaw mamihk isi, ikohta oma kakapisiyan mamihk isi. Maka ikohti pahkiskwaw akamihk ohci pici, ikiskatawakahk ikohti ohci, ikohtiw ohci pipahkiskwaw, wahiyaw isko mitoni, otisi mina ikohti kokapaht, maka moya nikiskitin tanti isi kapaht, wiy mitoni wahiyawis nim omisisi. Moya nikiskitin tanti isi kapaht apiw otakam nititin, apiw akamihk moy nikiskitin wiya ikohta iwakitihk sipiy. Ikwa ayi, ikwanima ikwa ota, kawi ikwa nipikiwan ikwa, wi sasakitiyan mina makway makway wi waniskapahtayan oma. Ikwa ikohti nihi miscikosa oma itatatakoskataman ikaskitipiskahk, makway flashlight ikaskitipiskahk. Ikohti oma ati kwi-wapimahk moya maka niki wapimaw. Pikiwiyan ikwa ikohta ikwa, niponin ni-misiponin, ikohta ikwa aya nitocicikwanapin oma ikohta iyawasoyan ikwa, soskwac omisi itakociniyan, maka itohkwiy ikawaciyan moya wiya ayi,itohkwi nisihkisin moy wi itohkiy wiyatawiya asci, mwici inimitoyan ayi nikicikosa ohi. Wi-nipatipisk kikway taniki ikwa paskisohk oki atimok ititakositwaw. Piko kikway iki totakoyan. Ikwanima ikwa moy ayi, ikosisi nipan. Ikosopayan awiskomoa ispimihk kayat pisim ikwa ikwayikatinahk, mitoni itohkwiy kikac iyapitakisikahk, nima mayaw ikisosiyan ikosi nipan, taki sikihit moya naki nipan. Ikwanima ikohta ikwa, naciwanihikanan pihta napatiy nika naciwanikanan nitihtin. Ipitakosiniyan ya-kiyam ohtiy mina nitihtin. Ayitaw isi wanihikiyan, pitakosiniyan otakosin, otakosin nawac, moya wiyatawiya mitoni ispikisikaw, asokami atakayan ikwa, wiwasikocowak oma sipiy asokami atakayan, ota nitiskopan, mistik itakonaman nipaskisikan inakataman, oma mistik inakawisoyan, wi-iwi soskosiniyan. Ikwanima ikohta imitihtahk ikwa ikwanima kiskatinaw ikwa nihtamatin ikohta miton itahtakwak, asta-astaskamokwa iyayakwaw ikispakakwaw astaskamokwa. Soskwac ikohta otapona misowi soskwac, soskwac wato iyapiht, pistiw, moya mosci mihko ayi watopayik mihko, imamisowistihk. Ikwanima ikohta mihko soskwac misowi, kitatawi isa isipwitiht ikwa, ikospiht ikwa, wi ikoti ispatinahk wahiyaw isi omisisi ikiskatatinahk. Ikohti ikwa kiyapic itimkonihk ikohti wi-iyakowastinahk, kiyapic ika konohk, astamastihk piko namoya. Ikwanima ikohti ikwa amacowiyatahk ati nakiht isa mana, kiyapic imihkoht. Ikwanima kapitipisk, mamaskac ika initohkwikowit, ikwa kapikisihk, ikwanima ikwa ikohti ikwa amacowi-ahtaw, ayik-ayik i-oma ayi makway kona apo omisi. Piyakwayahk ikohta mitoni miscahis nantaw omayikohk itohkwi aywakis wiya omayikohk, ikohta miwci nistwaw natahk ati na-natahk ohi mitoni ikwa mistahi omisi, ikohta aspin makway. Niti kakoniw omisisi niti niwawaskatan, nistwaw niwasakatan, mahkikway, pokwitohkwi iyopahot. Mahkikway kwanita ikwanima, ayi kwanita, kahki iki piyakoyan ikohta piko ikwiyahk ikohta ikosi iki ispayan astam ispi mokac kikway. Ota ikwa kapitakosiniyan ikwa kihtiyayahk niwawitamowawak ikwanima, taniki ikwanima ayi piyak awa, ikohci napitahikawiyan nitihk, awiyahk ikocihit, mahti tanapikasoyan. Ikwa piyak atamimiw nisipana Old Bone mana, piyak atamimiw ikoni. Piyak aw itwiw ayi, nantaw ohti waskway sipiy mana icikatiw ohti nantaw, wahiyaw ohti, ikohti ipim tonci imahapoyitwaw apiw natahakwaw tanisi itohkwiy. Ikwa ayi kitatawi itwiw ikwanima ikohta apitaw iyapiht wiya inisiyahk inistiyahk itwiw nikan, nikan awa piyak itwiw, ikwa niya otahk niya itahkwahaman itwiw. Ikwa ani ayi ikohti ikwa, oma ikohti ikwa oma ayi, ipimiskayahk, kitatawi kapim tawahahk moswa yapiw itwiw, sipiy oma imisahk sipiy itwiw ikohti," ah-natahohk awa mosos kamicinaw wiyas", kitwit itwiw. Tapwi ikwa kanatawayahk itwiw, ikwa kanocihat ikwa niwiciwakan itwiw, ikwanima ikohta mahkikway, mahkikway, kitatawi ikwa nista nipimciwipahasin itwiw nista ikwa ota kapaskiskwak, mahkikway itwiw. Wacistakac awa maci-mosis ika, ika kasasawawayihk nitikonan itwiw, shotgun iyotinahk itwiw ota ipaskiswat ota, kawatawiw itwiw. Ikwanima ayi wi-wi mana ikwanima otohtamoyin iki timaht itwiw ikoni anihi, ikwanima napatisipitanan ikwana moswa itwiw, ikohta nikapanan, napatisipitanan, moya apiw atimok wi-mowiwak itatiht itwiw. Ikwanima moswa, wi-piko itohkwi ika kwanita. Moykac wiyatawiy iyakwama wi-ika atim kawimowat, soskwac.

English Translation

I was trapping muskrat in the spring in the Atikameg river. It was at the mouth of the river where I went and usually travelled alone. It was there I trapped, I stayed for quite a while I had nothing to use for a roof cover so I slept under the spruce tree. I took two dogs with me for backpacking, I went on horseback but I left my horses and switched to dogs from the mouth of the river because there was no road then. I stayed for about four or five nights. Suddenly at night, on the fifth night I heard the dogs barking, they woke me up, it was very dark. It was so dark, so I made a fire, I had prepared kindling so I could make a fire. I made a fire, close by the firelight there were willows and willow branches that shone in the light. I went over and took some and tore some off to add to the fire, I made a big fire. I heard this loud noise coming over from the other side of the river, I told the dogs to be quiet. They stopped barking, nothing seemed to stop whatever was coming, the noise was getting louder it seemed to be coming straight in my direction. It was so dark, especially on that side because there was a big hill and spruce all around it, it was so dark. In the river there were young willows with new leaves which are yellow and oftentimes they dry up, there were some that had dried up a bit further up, when they dry up new ones will come up in this location. It was these branches I heard being stepped on and breaking, ice covered the top of the earth. It was then I walked towards the river edge with my rifle, I walked up and loaded my gun with two shells. I went out further towards the hill which was bare with no grass and closer to the river it was very steep. It was here I heard it coming out of the water and I could not see the other side of the river because it was so dark, I couldn't see a thing so I moved up and down like this. I thought I saw a dark outline of something over there, it jumped into the river, the river reflected as the water splashed, it reflected again as it splashed water all over. I was a dark outline here and I could also see it's outline in the middle of the river so I shot and it turned quickly, it jumped once so I shot it again, it jumped once more. I shot it again and again, I used up all my shells, I had no more, no more, but I knew I could hear it leaving, it would stop and leave again very, very slowly. It was as if, as if I could hear the water splashing and the blood dripping, it was the water splashing as he went through it so I made my way back. I went to look for my shells I left them on top of my blankets near my head close to my pillow, I couldn't find them, I finally had to tear my bedding apart to find them. There they were the shells I was looking for, they were under all of the bedding, not where I had placed them near my pillow. I took them and loaded my gun and I could hear the sounds near the bay, near the mouth of the river which is where I was camped. There were also icy patches on the earth on the other side of the river, the bank was really steep and terrain uneven from a long ways away, it was also the same for the side where the moose went ashore. I don't know where it went ashore I thought maybe it was on the other side of the river, it was hard to tell because there was a bend in the river. So from there I came back to my camp, I was barefoot because I jumped out of bed very quickly. I was stepping on branches because it was so dark, I did not have a flashlight and it was a very dark night. I tried to see whether I could see what it was but I couldn't see a thing. I came back to camp, I made a fire, a great big fire, I sat there on my knees to warm up by the fire, I was just shivering like this, I think I was cold I don't think it was all from fear, I probably was a bit scared because my kneecaps were shaking like I was doing a dance. It was during the night, I had to shoot it and the dogs were loud and frightened. Something had to be after me. After that, I fell asleep. When I woke up the sun was high and the hill around me were steep, it must have been almost noon. I suppose as soon as I was warm I fell asleep, I know if I had been frightened I would not have slept. So I went for my traps I thought I would go in one direction first. When I got back I thought I might as well go in the opposite direction too. I trapped in both directions, when I got back it was early evening, I crossed the river by foot, the river was fast flowing. I crossed by foot, the water came up to here, I carried a big stick I left my gun behind, I used the stick to guide myself across the river because the riverbed was slippery. I tracked the moose to the steep hill and as it sloped down it was so green, it was covered with moss, very thick moss. I saw his rest stops all over this area, there was blood clots all over, foamy water along with blood clots in large amounts all over. There was blood all over, suddenly I saw it got up and left to go to the bush over the hill, over the steep hill. On the other side of this steep hill there was snow because the sun did not shine on this side, there was still snow on this side, in the shade. So it was it went up, it would stop and go again, it was still bleeding. It bled all night, it's surprising it did not die from blood loss because it bled all day. I could see that it had gone up some more, there was no snow in this area. In this one location in an area this size, about this size, I could see he went for this area about three times, a large area like this and then all of a sudden there was nothing. There was a bit of snow over there and I went around over this area about three times I saw nothing, there is no other explanation but to say he flew away. It was not for nothing, it is the unexplainable, I used to always travel alone this was the first time something like this happened to me. When I got home I went to see several elders and told them what happened and why it happened, one of them said, someone wanted to know how brave

I was, someone was testing me. One thought it was my uncle Old Bone who had passed away. He told me once they were over at Birch River somewhere over here, far away, they were going downstream or upstream, I'm not sure. So, he said he was sitting in the middle of two, no three, he said at first, he sat in front because he was the boat guard so he said. So, he carried on to say, they were paddling suddenly there was a moose, a bull moose coming into the river, this was a big river, a very big river, so he said, he told us to get closer to the moose so we could have some moosemeat later he said to us. So we moved to get closer to the moose, so he said my friend fired at this moose and nothing happened, nothing, so I tried too, I moved the boat sideways and I shot at it, nothing happened. "How is it this evil moose cannot be killed, your bullets cannot hurt him", he stated. He took his shotgun and fired at it and it went down. So it was he said it was his fault, my uncle that is, is what this elder said. So he carried on to say they pulled the moose ashore and we went ashore and the dogs wouldn't even eat it because the meat was rotten. For this moose to be this way, why was it, it was not for nothing. I have yet to hear of a dog who has refused to eat moosemeat, I don't know.

Cultural Themes in Noel Grey's Stories

Story #1

1. Awasak ikikisinahamatwaw kakistimatwaw kihtiyaya asci kotaka ayisiniwa

   Children were taught to respect elders and other people

V Awasiwiyahk ipiyopikiyahk iki witamakawiyahk tamanacihayakwaw kihtiyayahk asci kotakahk ayisinowak

As children growing up we were told to respect elders and other people

W Iko oma kayas iki itikawiyahk mana ninan oma, iyopikiyahk, manacihayakwaw kihtiyayahk, mina kotakahk ayisinowak

Long ago we were told, as we were growing up, respect elders and other people as well

V Oma kikway kitikawiyahk moya tayiwiskamak piko wiyawaw tatapwitwaw moya tapikiskwiyahk

If we were told something we must not question it, they had to be right and we weren't allowed to talk

W Oma kway kitikawiyahk, moy-moya tayiwiskamak, piko tapwitatwaw wiyawaw

If we were told something we had to listen with no reply, they had to be right

2. Nipapananak mana iki mikoyakwaw stimawa kispin kihtiyaya inohti acimohayakwaw

   For storytelling our fathers would supply the tobacco if we wanted to ask an elder for a story

V Iki acimohayakwaw mana kayas kihtiyayahk nipapananahk mana iki mikoyakwaw stimas

We would ask the elders for a story and our fathers would give us tobacco for them

W Ikwa, iki acimohayakwaw mana oki kihtiyayahk, nipapananahk mana iki mikoyakwaw stimasa

Then we also used to ask the elders for stories, our fathers would give us tobacco (for the story).

3. Kapakisimohk awasak mana iki pitokwisahotwaw papiyatihk tanitaw apitaw iso kawisimotwawi

At sunset all the children would be sent inside to sit quietly for the rest of the evening

V Kapakisimohk iki pitohkwitisahotwaw awasak kakiyaw piyatihk iyahyahk

At sunset the children were sent inside to sit quietly

W Kapakisimohk, kipitohkwitisahowtwaw kakiyaw piyahtihk iyayahk, kikiyaw, piyahtihk moya ayi, moy-moya imitawitwaw awasak

At sunset, all the children were sent inside to sit quietly, everyone, to stay quiet, children did not play

4. Iki witamakawiyak mana kispin wiyawitimihk nikakwiy ayanan ikosi ahkosowin asci kotak macikikway nikapitohtinan

We were told if we stayed outside we would call sickness upon ourselves along with other evils

V Iki itihkoyiyahk tapiskohc ahkosowin tapitohtamak kakiya kikway macikikway

We were told, for example we would call sickness and everything evil upon ourselves

W Iki itikawiyahk oti mana, tapiskohc ayi ahkosowin tapitohtamak, kakiya kikway macikikway pitohtamak

If everyone did not come inside, we were told we would call and descend sickness on ourselves, everything evil would descend on us

5. Namoya mistahi napiw ohci ayapiw wiya maciwin poko iki ohci pimatisihk

Man was not home very much because hunting was the only way of life

V Namoya mosi napiw ohci apiw, wiya maciwin piko isi pimatisihk

Man was not home very much because hunting was the only way of life

W Ikwa iko oma aya, moy-moy mosi napiw ohci ay apiw, wi-imacihk piko isi pimacisihk

To carry on, man was not home very much, he was hunting to make a living

6. Kayas mistahi ayisiniwak iki pimpicitwaw wiya ika

kikway waskahikana

Long ago the people moved from place to place because there were no houses

V Kayas naystaw iki pampihtwaw ayisiniwak nama kikway waskahikan

Long ago people moved from place to place, there were no houses

W Taskohc mana iyatotakwaw aya kayas pamayis niya initawi-aya ma, iki pamipihtwaw mana ikosisi makway waskahikan kayas

As we have been told long ago before I was born when they used to move from place to place there were no houses not even tarp

7. Kayas maskikiwatikwa iki apatakwaw liti ohci asci waskway iki otoyakanihk

Herbs were used for tea long ago as well as birch for dishes

V Maskikiwatikwa iki olitimitwaw kayas ikwa asci waskway iki otoyakantwaw

Herbs were used for tea long ago as well as birch for dishes

W Ikwa maskikiwatikwa iyapacitatwaw kikway olitimiwaw, makway wiyakan, aya wasko-yakana iki apacitatwaw

They would use herbal medicine for tea, they lived like this long ago, they had no dishes they would use

birchbark dishes

Story #2

1. Askaw kikway ispayo ika iki witaman taniki
There are some events which occur and cannot be explained

V Wiya nipatipisk ata ipaskosohk awa moswa taniki oma ko-ispayik piko kikway ikwitohtakowiyan
It was during the night and even though I shot the moose I don't understand what happened something had to be after me

W Wi-nipatipisk kikway taniki ikwa paskisohk oki atimok ititakositwaw. Piko kikway iki totakoyan
It was during the night, I had to shoot it and the dogs were loud. Something had to be after me

2. Atiht ayisiniw nihta piyako maka askaw matawipayo
When people are alone they may experience strange events

V Kaki iki piyakoyan ikohta piko ikosi iki ispayan
I used to be alone a lot this was the only time something like this ever happened

W Makikway kwanita ikwanima, ayi kwanita, kahki iki piyakoyan ikohta piko ikwiyahk ikohta ikosi iki ispayan, astam ispi mokac kikway
It was not for nothing, it is the unexplainable, I used

to travel alone this was the first time something like this happened to me

3. Kikway ika kanistohtaman kwicim kihtiyayahk

For events you do not understand ask several elders

V Kapitakosiniyan kihtiyahk niwawitamowahk taniki ikwanima ko-ispayihk piyak awa kisiht "ikoci napitahikowiyin" piyak awa atamimiw nisipana "Old Bone"

When I got home I told a few elders about the event and one elder told me he thought I was being tested by my uncle "Old Bone"

W Ota ikwa kapitakosiniyan ikwa kihtiyayahk niwawitamowawak ikwanima, taniki ikwanima ayi piyak awa, ikoci napitahikawiyan nitihk, awiyahk ikocihit, mahti tanapikasoyan. Ikwa piyak atamiwiw nisipana Old Bone mana

When I got home I went to see several elders and told them what happened and why it happened, one of them said, someone wanted to know how brave I was, someone was testing me. One thought it was my uncle Old Bone who had passed away

4. Moya mosi moswa kapihtin tapihtatiniyihk owiyasim

It is not too often you hear of a moose with rotten meat

V Moya apo atimok wiy mowiwak itahtiht awa moswa poko ika kwanita

The dogs wouldn't even eat that moose because of the way it smelled it didn't happen for nothing

W Ikwanima napatisipitanan ikwana moswa itwiw, ikohta nikapanan, napatisipitanan, moya apiw atimok wi-mowiwak itatiht itwiw

So he carried on to say they pulled the moose ashore and we went ashore and the dogs wouldn't even eat it because the meat was rotten

5. Moya mosi kikway ika atim iwimicit

It is not too often a dog will refuse something to eat

V Iyakwama ika atim kawimowat moswa

It isn't too often a dog won't eat moosemeat

W Wiyatawiy iyakwama wi-ika atim kawimowat, soskwac

I have yet to hear of a dog who has refused to eat moosemeat, I don't know

Summary and Validation of Themes in Noel Grey's Stories

On March 29, 1993 I made my first visit to validate the story told by Noel Grey and the themes I elicited from his first story. Noel was prepared for my visit since I had telephoned previously to let him know I was coming. He had recently experienced a loss in his family of an ex-wife and friend and he was grieving. Both he and his common-law wife Florence were very happy to see me. He told me he was nursing a cold and that he did not sleep well the night before. I immediately decided I would have to return another day for the validation of his second story.

To set the tone for the discussion and validation I took along a VCR so that we could watch the storytelling session again to refresh Noel's memory since a considerable amount of time had lapsed between the storytelling session and this visit. We watched the first story and I instructed Noel I would return for the validation of the second story another day since he was a bit under the weather. As we sat a while to digest the viewing of the tape Noel went into a dialogue with me to get us into a mode of discussion and reflection. Noel stated, "Nowadays I do not like the new discipline practices of the whiteman. Children should be disciplined with a willow which is something the whiteman has stopped. They call it abuse when children are disciplined in this manner. Now children hit their parents and if the parents discipline their children with a willow they are taken to court".

I then reviewed the themes I had elicited from the story for Noel. He discussed and validated these themes. Noel agreed with the categories and stated they were the important points to be raised for children.

In Noel's first story he concentrated on behavioral expectations for children. He talked about how respect was taught to children at a very early age and children were taught not to question but follow discipline practices established by the parents. Scary stories were used to instill proper behavior in children. In terms of helping out at home the children were expected to play a key role in maintaining the household.

Traditionally the man was not home very much therefore the woman along with the children were expected to take care of everything at home while the man was away hunting. This was the nomadic way of life which was practiced by the native people. They depended on natural foods and herbs along with other items nature provided for use as tools.

The discussion was minimal since Noel had a bad cold and he kept coughing and sneezing through the interview. I thanked him for his contribution and stated we would be back to work on Story two.

Noel's second story was very different from the first. This story had a totally different tone to it. Noel is a man who does not talk about the supernatural readily but he chose to tell this story to relay his personal experience to us. In my discussion with Noel I asked him whether the experience was one which had some explanation and he stated this was one incident which has left a lot of unanswered questions. Noel's story centered around a campout when he was on his trapline. The events which took place brought out a number of points and he corroborated these points during my validation visit. He started with the opening statement that there are some events which cannot be explained and happen to people when they are alone. The tension and atmosphere throughout Noel's camping trip evoke a sense of eerie feelings related to the supernatural.

Noel stated, "someone was after me with their mind--they used to send spirits after others and this happened long ago. They would make animal spirits and put their own lives in these spirits. It is like this animal who flew up. I could have killed the spirit of another being but I chose to rely on prayer".

Noel talked about the animal who came to visit him in the camp and he told me he was never really sure if it had been a moose but the tracks that he saw were moose tracks. He noted "I never actually saw the moose".

To corroborate his story his dad and brother went to the same spot to check it out and they saw the blood clots and the place where the animal suddenly disappeared.

Noel notes if you do not know how to explain an event then you must seek assistance from elders. Noel went on with a teasing comment, "I was young once too, I wasn't always old". He states it is good for young people to go and see elders today and this was also the case long ago.

To add credibility to the story Noel talked about another similiar event which happened to some other men. This also involved a moose but one which would not die and when it did the moosemeat was rotten. Noel has never heard of a moose with rotten meat. The dogs even refused to eat this meat.

Edward Laboucan of Lubicon Lake

Personal Background Information

I was born and raised in our home area of Little Buffalo, otherwise known as Lubicon Lake today. We have always been in this area, along with our ancestors, our parents too. My father was raised 30 to 40 miles by the lake, my mother was from Trout Lake area. When they found each other we were raised here in Lubicon Lake area as far back as I can remember. Here is where we have the lake which we call Lubicon, that's where the people lived long ago, not here in this setting. It has been about thirty, thirty two years since we left the lake area. When school started we moved here, we left the lake area, that was our home. That's the area we want for the land claim settlement by the lake area where we had originally settled and lived. We have always been back and forth in this area. I have and so has she, more so for her, she was born here. I was born 30 to 40 miles from here, it's close, not too far from here. This area is where we were born, we've been here since then, my father travelled this area. As far back as I can remember we have always been here, we were raised in the area known as "matawisak" (Prayer Lake) and she was raised in the place called "maskotiw sipiy" (Lubicon) the area by the river. We were also in Loon Lake area for a while, we were there for about 10 years then we moved back. The area around the lake used to be nice, we all lived around the lake. My father, my mother, my wife, we were all raised here. We did not travel from a far distance to come here, this was originally and has always been our home. When we met, we were both from here. We have now been together for 54 years, we have never separated. I am 76 years old today, my birthday was last fall and I will be 77 years old in December. As far back as I can remember this has always been our home, this is our land, it is our land we are asking for. My wife, she will tell you where she was raised and how old she is. My father was also from here, he did not die an old man, he killed himself accidently. My siblings, they live here too, there are only two left, we were many at one time. That's all I can say for now.

Story #1

Cree Version

How, anohc oma nikatotin tanisi isi pimacisiyahk ninan kapi-opihkiyahk tapiskohc. Nikisiniminanak tanisi iki isi pimacihotwaw tanisi iki isi pimacihikoyakwaw, iki witamakoyakwaw kikway niyak tisi apacitat ayisiniw kikway. Tapiskohc piyak askiy kikac askaw kiwitamok tanisi tisipayik askiy wiyawaw kihtiyayahk. Ikoyow iki kaskihtatwaw wiyawaw ohci, tapiskohc omatawisowinwaw ohci, owitamakosowinwaw ohci, ikoyow kakimamiskotakwaw wiyawaw kisinowak. Ikohta kaki otinamak nistanan, tapiskohc tanisi taki isi pimacihoyahk ka-ati opihkiyahk ispi. Ikosi kaki isi

kisinahamakawiyahk ninan, kakiya kikway tapiskohc. Natohk ohi piskisa wiyawaw ki-aspimowak, tapiskohc ayi tanisi isi, tanisi isi pimacihot piskis, tanisi is pimacisit, kikway kapimaciwakit. Niyak tamamitonitak piskis, mihcim ikosi ayisiniw iki isi witamat, wiya tapiskohc ohi natohk piskisak, niyak kikiskihtamohk tawi-ati ponihk, nimawinihkasowak atiht, atiht piskisak astawak kikway ikoyo ikwa iponihk, tanisi kawi-isi-askiwik,ikohta kaki ohtinahkwaw kisinowak. Ikohta kaki ohci kiskihtakwaw, tanisi tisi awa ayisiniw kiskihtamokosiht piskisa owaskawiwininow ohci. Apiw kikway apiw amiskwak inimawinihkitwaw kipa, apiw anihkwacasak imimawinikitwaw kipa, ikosisi. Ikosi kaki isi witamakawiya ninan. Ikohta totinamak niyak tapiskohc ayisiniw takiskihtamasot kikway tawitamakosiht tapiskohc. Piskisa ohci iwitamokot. Ikosi kaki isi iwitamakawiyahk ninan. Mokac niwitamowawak ikoyo oskayisiniwak wiya misawac ika totinamowitwaw, maka ayisi ikosi ninan iki isi opihkihikawiyahk. Natohk kikway tapiskohc apiw tanikohk moswa tatiwinoht, tanikohk tisipitahk tatipmohtit, tasipwitit, ikosisi, ikosisi kakiyaw. Wi-wiyawaw kisiniwak witamakosowak, wiyawaw kikiskihtamohk ikoyo anima kikway. Sakaw isicikiwin iwako tapiskohc ikoyo iki-pimaciwakitwaw wiyawaw. Natohk piskisa iki aspahakimotwaw tapiskohc ayi, tisi pimacihotwaw, tisi pimacisitwaw, tapiskohc ati opihkitwawi, wiyawaw ikwa ikoyo taki ati ayatwaw tapiskohc. Ninan ikwa taki witamowayakwaw, nitoskayisiniminak kati kihtihyayoyahk. Kispin taki nitohtakwaw,ikosi iki-ispayihk ikosi kaki pisipimacihikawiyak ninan. Ikosi kakipi isi opihkihikawiyahk ninan. Ikwa piyak kikway mina tapiskohc, oma tapiskohc oma kikihk ikwa, kayas kisinipanak wiyawaw casay pitohkwitisawawak oskayisinwa. Ika tapamakamihkisihtwaw oskayisinwak, piyatihk tayatwaw, osam tipwitwawi, ahkosowin tapitihtakwaw. Ika tahkosihtwaw, tapiskohc papiyak askiy isi, ikoyo ohci kaki kisinahamatwaw awasak. Takiyamapihtwaw, takoskwawatapihtwaw, katipiskayihk tanipatwaw, kikisipa miskoc iwaniskatwaw. Ikosi kaki isi kisinahamakawiyahk ninan. Maka ikwa anohc pitos ikwa anohc ispayik. Ikoyo wiyawaw kisinipanak opimacihowiniwaw, tapiskohc, tatispitawak askiy, tanita mina tanisi piskisak ayi isi pimatisitwaw wiyawaw. Apiw kikway tawi-itahkohk, apiw tawi-namatakohk kikway niyak kikiskitamok wiyawaw kisiniwak. Opimacihowinwaw ohci, omikosowiniwaw ohci, sakaw isicikiwin ikoyo anima. Ikiskihtamakowistwaw tanisi tispayik askiy piyak askiy kikac mitoni kikiskihtamok wiyawaw. Ikoyo manitowa iki mikotwaw wiyawaw, tisipimacisitwaw, kiyapic anohc ikosi ispayo nimtaw ohti, kiyapic iwako pimpayo sakaw isicikiwin. Tapimatisit ayisiniw, otawasimisa ohci, niyak tanisi tisi-witamowat, kiyapic iwako pimpayo ohti nimtaw. Maka ohta moy niya niwapahtin ikwa iwako, kayas ohci. Moya niwapahtin ni-ikwanima isi-pimacihowin, nakatihkonan ninan iwako pimacisowin, ispayo, wiya ika initohtakoyakwaw nitawasimisinanak ikoci, iko-ko-ispayik. Moya ata itohkwi inaktikoyahk iwako pimacisowin, maka, ika ipimitisawakoyakwaw nitoskayiminanak ninan tapiskohc. Oki ikwa katohpihkitwaw oki kaki ohpihkihayakwaw ninan tipiyawi nitawasimisinanak, ikonihk ninitohtakonanak kiyapic anohc kakisikahk ninitohtakonanak ikwa. Ikosi kakiyaw oki ayisiniwak wistawaw ikosi isi pimacisitwaw, oma nitaskinan ninan. Maka ohpimi askiy kiyapic wiya iwako pimpayo wapahtaman, misowiti ipimahkamikisiyan ayisk. Kiwitinohk ohti ayawak sohkipayo ikohti nakinawak oskayisinwak ikotisi kiyapic. Tapiskohc oma kitaht pisim, takiyamipihtwaw, ika ahkosowin totihtikotwaw moya taskohc ikwa anohc ikohta ikwa katipwitwaw oskayisiniwak, ah pihta ikohta.

English Translation

Today, for instance I will tell about how we lived and how we were raised. Our elders, through their own livelihood passed these skills onto us, they shared with us how to use things as people for the future. For instance, the elders sometimes would forecast what would happen to the earth, they would predict events almost to a year. They were able to do this because it had been granted to them as a gift, as their special skill, this is what they shared with us. This is how we were taught, they were the teachers. They observed and learned from the various animals, how they lived and what the animals lived on. Animals instinctively prepare for the future, people were

told to do the same, animals know when the weather is going to change, they know when it is time for winter, they prepare and store food for it, to use for the winter. The elders took and learned from this behavior, they knew if they observed the animals they were meant to learn from them. Take for instance, the beaver prepares for winter and so does the squirrel. They told us to learn from the animals. For instance, the people had to learn for themselves, the animals were used to teach people to care for themselves. I never tell the young people about this because I know they won't take this information from me. This is how we were raised. Various things such as when the moose is fat, when he is leaving, when he is walking. These were things to observe and learn. The elders know this, they were given the ability to learn this knowledge. Life in the bush, for instance, this is how they made their living. They watched the various animals, this is how they should learn to grow, the young people, they should have this information. We should tell them, our young people, if they want to listen to us. This is how we were raised, this is how we lived. Also, for one thing, the time of day it is, long ago the elders would send the young people inside. The young people should stay at home, quietly, if they scream, they will bring sickness onto themselves. To prevent sickness, for up to a year, this is what the children were taught. To stay put, to stay in one place, to sleep at night so they could get up early in the morning. This is what we were taught, it is very different today. This was the way of life for the elders, they observed the way of the earth and how the animals lived. Perhaps if there was going to be plenty, or lack of, the elders knew ahead of time. This was the way of life granted to them the bush livelihood that is. They were forewarned about the earth and they knew what would happen to almost a year. The Creator gave this to them, to live that way, it's still happening that way farther out, the bush way of life is still evident. To live as people, for their children, how to prepare their children this is still evident further out. For a long time I have not seen it here. I do not see that way of life, it has left us, that way of life because our young people do not listen to us, that is why. It probably has not left us, it is because our young people do not follow us. It is this generation, the ones we raised, they listen to us yet today. It is like that for all the people here, that is how they live, here in our community. But in other areas it is still evident, the bush way of life, I see it I have travelled all over. Up north, it is still thriving, the young people listen. For instance, the time of day it is, they should stay put, the young people, so they do not call sickness to themselves but today that is when the young people start screaming. I will stop for now.

Story # 2

Cree Version

How, nika nom acocasin tapiskohc kiyanaw ohci kipimatisowinaw, takohc kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw, kikway kamamicihikoyak. Nihiyaw isicikiwin, nihiyaw, nihiyaw pimatisowin, iwako kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw, iwako kiyanaw ohci, sakawino opimatisowin wiya. Moya moniyaw pimatisowin wiya ayaw mistahi iko ohci,kakihtiyayowit wiya wawis awiyak maka oskayisiniw mina taki kanwitak iwako tapiskohc. Ata kakisinahamakosit ikwa, nihiyaw isicikiwin kiyapic tamamitonitahk, kiyapic ikotisi tisimamitonitahk, takanawimikot kakiya kikway tapiskohc. Opimatisowin ohci, manitowa ohci tapimacihikot tapiskohc opimatisowin, kiyapic ikohta to-ohcipayik ikwa anima, iwako nihiyaw wiya opimatisowin. Iwakoyo wiya nihiyaw kakimikosit, pimatisowin tapiskohc, nihiyaw pimatisit, nihiyaw mamihtisowin, onihiyaw mamihtitamowin. Owaskawiwin ohci kikway tapiskohc sakaw isicikiwin ohci, opiskima mina ohci tapiskohc, nihiyaw piskisak oki kakiyaw. Ika moniyawa tapimitisawat ikohta. Ikohta kiyapic iwako imiyosihk kiyanaw iwako ohci kiwaskawiwinaw, kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw ohci, ikohci kakisinahamatwaw nihiyawak anohc kakisikahk kiyapic. Ikohta takwi-otinakwaw kiyapic tapiskohc sakaw pimatisowin, kakisinahamakositwaw nihiyaw, nihiyaw awasak ka-nihiyawitwaw, ikosi pita ikohta.

English Translation

Okay, I will tell about us, our livelihood, the way we live and what makes us proud. Cree business, Cree livelihood, that is our way of life, it was meant for us, the bush life. No, we do not live like the whiteman because of this especially as you get older but for the young people they should also keep their way of life. Even if one goes to school we must think of our Cree livelihood, to keep it and for it to keep us too. For his own way of life, the Creator gave him this livelihood for his life, it must come from there because that is the way the Cree were meant to live. This is what was granted to the Cree, his life was to live like a Cree, take pride in being Cree. The way he approaches things should be from bush livelihood, the animals he was given, the animals meant for Cree people are all around. One should not follow the whiteman, it was the gift granted to us, this way of life. It is for our way of life therefore Cree people are being taught about it yet today. It is from here they must try to access bush livelihood, the Cree teachings, for the children who speak Cree. I will stop here for now.

Cultural Themes in Edward Laboucan's Stories

Story #1

1. Nikisiniminanak iki witamakoyakwaw kikway niyak tisi apacitat ayisiniw. Iki kaskitatwaw wiyawaw ikoyo

Our elders shared with us how to use things as people for the future. This is what they knew and shared

W Nikisiniminanak iki witamakoyakwaw kikway niyak tisi apacitat ayisiniw kikway. Tapiskohc piyak askiy kikac askaw kiwitamok tanisi tisipayik askiy wiyawaw kihtiyayahk

Our elders, they shared with us how to use things as people for the future. For instance, the elders sometimes would forecast what would happen to the earth, they would predict events almost to a year

V Piyak askiy kikac kiwitamok nikisiniminanak omatawisiwiniwaw ohci imikosihtwaw kikiskitamohk tanisi iwiyispayik kihtiyayahk

The elders would predict to almost a year with the gift the Creator gave them the elders knew what would happen

2. Ikohta kaki otinamak nistanan, tapiskohc tanisi taki isi pimacihoyak

This is what they shared with us and we should get our teachings from them

W Ikohta kaki otinamak nistanan, tapiskohc tanisi taki isi pimacihoyak ka-ati opihkiyahk ispi

This is what they shared with us. This is what we were taught, they were the teachers

V Nistanan ikohta taki otinamak tanisi tisi-pimacihoyahk

It is from these teachings we should have learned about

life

3. Kihtiyayahk wiyawaw iki apimotwaw piskisa kawitamakotwaw tanisi wistawaw tisi pimacihotwaw

The elders learned from observing animals how to make their own living

W Natohk ohi piskisa ki-aspimowak, tapiskohc ayi tanisi isi, tanisi isi pimacihot piskis, tanisi isi pimacisit, kikway kapimaciwakit

They observed and learned from the various animals, how they lived and what the animals lived on

V Piskisa ohci iki aspimotwaw kihtiyayahk owaskawiwiniwaw ohci

The elders relied on the animals to help them with their own livelihood

4. Ninan ikwa taki witamowayakwaw oskayisiniwak kati kihitihyayoyahk kispin kinitohtakwaw

We are the ones, the elders, who should tell our young people about these things if they would listen

W Ninan ikwa taki witamowayakwaw, nitoskayisiminiminanak kati kihtihyayoyahk, kispin taki nitohtakwaw

I never tell the young people about this because I know they won't take the information from me

V Taki kisinahamowayakwaw ikwa ninan oskayisinowak mohkac niwitamowawak ika initotakoyakwaw

As elders it is our responsibility to tell our young people but I haven't because they won't listen

5. Kipa oskayisiniwa iki pitohkwit sahotwaw pamayis itipisikahk

Young people were sent inside soon before it gets dark

W Ikwa piyak kikway mina tapiskohc oma tapiskohc oma kikihk ikwa, kayas kisinipanak wiyawaw casay pitohkwitisawawak oskayisiniwa

Also, for one thing, the time of day it is, long ago the elders would send the young people inside

V Omisi kikihk asay oskayisinowak iki pitohkwitisahotwaw ika tipiskayiki wiyawitimihk tayatwaw

This time of day the young people would be sent in so they won't be outside when it is dark

W Ika tapamakamihkisihtwaw oskayisiniwak, piyatihk tayatwaw, osam tipwitwawi ahkosowin tapitohtakwaw

The young people should stay at home, quietly, if they scream, they will bring sickness onto themselves

V Ika tapimakamihkisistwaw oskayisiniwak piyatihk tayatwaw

Young people should stay quiet and not wander around

6. Ikoyo manitowa iki mikotwaw wiyawaw kihitiyayahk, tisipimacihotwaw

This way of life was granted to the elders by the Creator

W Ikoyo manitowa iki mikotwaw wiyawaw, tisipimacisitwaw, kiyapic anohc ikosi ispayo nimtaw ohti, kiyapic iwako pimpayo sakaw isicikiwin

The Creator gave this to them, to live that way, it's still happening that way farther out, the bush way of life is still evident

V Iki mikositwaw ikoyo wiyawaw kihtiyayahk

This kind of gift was granted to the elders

7. Mistahi pitos anohc ati ispayo, namoya ikwa oskayisinowak wi pimatisahamohk tanisi iki isi pimatisiyahk

It is very different today, they young people won't follow our way of life

W Maka ohta moy niya niwapahtin ikwa iwako, kayas ohci. Moya ata itohkwi inakatikoyahk iwako pimacisowin,maka, ika ipimitisawakoyakwaw nitoskayiminanak ninan tapiskohc

For a long time I have not seen it here. I do not see that way of life, it has left us, that way of life because our young people do not listen to us, that's why

V Ota namoya niya niwapahtin iwako pimatisowin ika ipimitsawakoyakwaw nitoskayiminanak

I do not see that way of life here because the young people don't follow our way of life

Story #2

1. Nihiyaw pimatisowin kimamicihikonaw, ohtaw ihtakon nihiyaw isicikiwin iwako kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw
We are proud of the Cree way of life, there is a Cree way of doing business, that way of life was meant for us

W Nika nom acocasin tapiskohc kiyanaw ohci kipimatisowinaw, takohc kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw, kikway kamamicihikoyak. Nihiyaw isicikiwin, nihiyaw, nihiyaw pimatisowin, iwako kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw
Okay, I will tell about us, our livelihood, the way we live and what makes us proud. Cree business, Cree livelihood, that is our way of life, it was meant for us, the bush life

V Kiyanaw kipimatisowinaw, nihiyaw isicikiwin kikway kamamicihikoyahk, nihiyaw pimatisowin
Our way of life, our Cree way of business and we are proud of it, The Cree life

2. Iwakoyo wiya nihiyaw kakimikosit, nihiyaw pimatisowin
The Creator granted us the Cree way of life

W Iwakoyo wiya nihiyaw kakimikosit, pimatisowin tapiskohc nihiyaw pimatisit, nihiyaw mamihtisowin, onihiyaw

mamihtitamowin

For his own way of life, the Creator gave him this livelihood for his life, it must come from there because that is the way the Cree were meant to live

V Iko kistanaw iki mikosihyahk, ohtaw tapiskohc nihiyaw pimatisowin, nihiyaw mamihtisowin

This Cree way of life was granted to us and we are proud of it

Summary and Validation of Themes in Edward Laboucan's Stories

On April 17, 1994 I made a trip to Little Buffalo to validate the themes and translation of stories with Edward and Josephine Laboucan. They were expecting me because I had called the day before to set up the visit. I gave the tobacco and gifts and spent some time discussing how they were doing and my attempt to get this work in place and completed. It was a beautiful spring day and the atmosphere at the house was peaceful. One of the grandchildren who had been part of the audience was visiting. We told her she could stay and watch herself. This little girl had grown up considerably since our taping session. Edward and I went over some terms I had difficulty with and corrected these translations. They were mostly place names.

I found the cultural themes in Edward's story were closely connected and tied well together. Each theme was supported by a number of statements and if the theme changed a bit it was connected in some manner to the last theme statement. The key theme statement from Edward is centered around the Cree way of life. He discusses these points at the end of the first story and reinforces and reviews these statements in his second story. Edward states the Cree way of life was granted by the Creator and was meant specifically for the Cree people. In our discussion Edward noted that our identity is wrapped up neatly in the way of life which was given to us by the Creator. He believes it was the Creator's aim to use elders to pass this along to the young people. The elders were meant to transmit these values and beliefs to the young people but they have chosen not to accept them or the way of life proposed by elders. Edward shared a sense and feeling which he believes is crucial to the young people of today. He said when you visit with elders your thoughts change. Your mind becomes lighter because they give you clean thoughts to live by. He was quite melancholy about this statement because he feels sad that young people are moving rapidly away from these teachings.

Edward, in his opening statement in the first story, believes the Creator granted the gift of prediction to elders through the use of animals and their behaviors. He believes the Creator used the animals to teach us how to maintain our own livelihood. The gift of prediction of certain events was also granted to the elders. At our validation visit Edward said the elders used the animals to predict earth events and weather. He stated not too many people use this skill. He also said we provide information to any young person who wants it. The elders will pass on specific information if young people wish to gain this knowledge. Edward noted that he used this information as he grew. It was given to the elders and children to use as they grew. As young people and children it was up to us to use this information provided by the elders and the Creator. We grow and learn from our parents and once we leave home we are given the decision making ability we need to raise our own children.

We also had a discussion about how things have changed. This ties in with the behavior expectations which were set out for young people and children long ago. Edward said the young people were expected to be inside as soon as the sun set. They were not allowed to wander around and make noise. They were taught to respect nature's patterns, the cycle of life and use these to develop good living habits. Young people were taught quiet manners and good use of quiet time. Edward also stated that sickness travels at night and young people were asked to observe the community desire to keep sickness out of the community and keep quiet at night. Edward went on to say that young people today leave at midnight to go out. They make their own decisions and they don't listen to anyone anymore. He said it is difficult for child-rearing today. Some children have been taken out of homes and they don't even know themselves anymore. He carried on to say when a young person is lost it is their being which is lost. The Creator gave us this being and he said this is why we have many people who do destructive things such as killing.

This contribution by Edward showed that elders were the key tramsmitters of information along with parental influence. The value and belief system of the Cree people is intertwined specifically with Mother Earth and nature. The patterns and life cycles of the earth were used as teaching and learning tools for the Cree people. Predictions, time, weather and seasonal cycles all helped them make the decisions which would yield the best results.

Josephine Laboucan of Lubicon Lake, Alberta

Personal Background Information

I'm from here too, Little Buffalo. My father came from Slave Lake, he met my mother here, he never went back home, he stayed here until his death which is about four years ago going on five years. My mom's dad used to be at Whitefish Lake but he came here and claimed a lot here at "Maskotiy sipiy" where all the people lived. We had stores out there, today there are no stores there. My mother was born there, my mom used to tell stories about it.

Story #1

Cree Version

Aya, nika acocasin nista aya awasak oma, kisi-opihkihitwaw anohc ikwa, tapwi ayisk isasipihtakwaw. Wiya ika inocihitwaw ikwa, inakinahk moniyaw ika cinocihawasot, ayisiniw kispin awiyak apsis nocihawasiw imaskonit ocawasimsa. Tanisi ikwa itakamikan sasipihtamok awasak,kakiya kikway itakamiksowak. Oskinikisak mina iskwisak piyakwan wistawaw nipatiwak ika initohtawatwaw onikihkowawak, opapawawa apwi. Ikwa oma awas kapimakamikisit kanitaw wiyasowatiht. Kispiwiwak ikwa itipahotwaw, moya poyowak, oki awasak, katoskinikitwaw, casamina nitaw kikway itakamikisitwaw. Wiya tatipahotwaw. Ikohci ika kanitohtakwaw anohc oma kopihkihitwaw, oki ikwa nosimak. Nosimak mina ikosi itakamikisitwaw. Maka tapwi wiya nista nitawasimsak niki nitohtakwak wi,tanisi kaki isi opihkikawiyan ikosisi iki isi opihkihawasoyan. Ika tapikiskwit kikway atohtaki nicawasimis,ika tapikiskwit, kispin kapikiskwit ikosi ipasatiwak,nipisis ohci, wisakastiwak. Ikohta mana kaki pasiko kwaskohtwaw kikway atohtakwawi. Piyakwan ikosi nista iki isi opihkikawiyan, ikatapikiskwiyan kikway nimama isici, nipapa apiw, casay iki wisakastiwikawiyan. Kispin ika kipa kapasikoyan, kikway katost-nipapa piko simak kapasikoyan,namoya aya kinwis ta-apiyan. Ikosis kaki isi opihkikawiyan.

Ikwa anohc, oma awasak oki kopihkitwaw nosimak, mistahi ikispiwatatwaw oki ocawasimisowawa, nicawasimisak. Osimiswawa mina kopihkihatwaw ikispiwatatwaw. Maka moya kwayask piyakwan aya oma iskotiw ikota itisinatwaw, kakispiwatatwaw. Ata niya isakihak nosim, nipasastiwaw, wiya ika iskotik titisinak, ikwi natakasipitak ika takisot sasipihtaki. Wiya ikosi iki itikawiyan, sasipihtaman kakison, ika-pimatisiyin kakison, kahki takisoyin. Iki kakwi nahitaman mana wiya apiw apsis kisosiyani iwisakihtaman. Wawis ci omatowik isokotik, awiyak kinwis tayat, ispi ocacakwa takisoyit itwik moy, moya oma pimatisowin maka ota ika pimatisiki ikohta, takisot ahcak itwik ikohci ayisiniw kokitahamat. Ika natohk titakamikisit ikonima nikisinamawasowin, mistahi ika initohtakwaw nosimak. Ata mana oma kakisinamowakwaw. Tapi nipawak aciyaw poko tapapasowak namoya kikway tatotinamok tat-atoskatakwaw apwi kikway oma pahkikin, wiyas apiw tapansawitwaw. Iki iwahikik mina iyapik, iyawasiwiyan isko iki iwahikisiyan mana, imikawiyan mistik ta-iwahikiyan. Cikahikanis iki wiyokotahk mana aya napakitak, omatowak, namoya napakitak, mistik, askatik iko ikwa iwahikakiyan nimosom mana iki nisokamowak ika cikahikan tapacitayan. Cikahikanis ayisk mana iki iwahikakitwaw, nimosom. Ikotowa ikwa oma kiyapic mana oma katoskataman mitoni kwayask isa iki kisinahamakawiyan. Ikohci mana nosimak kakisinahamowakwaw, tamaskisinikitwaw mina ati ponpayo pahkikinohkiwin wiya ika ipahkikinohkitwaw nosimak. Kakiyaw niya ninapisimak iki kisinahamowakwaw oki kakiyaw mana iki nisokamowitwaw ositayini pahkikin, isko kakis pastik. Ikwa wiyawaw kopihkihawasotwaw moya, moya ikosisi isi kisinahamowiwik ocawasinisowawa, kiyapic taki miyosihk anohc iki nanahitakwaw awasak. Maka osam mistahi ikispiwawasowak moya aya kwaykohk,sikimawak awasak kikway titohtakwaw. Yahyaw ikwanima kispiwawasowin moya miyasin kispiwawasowin. Kipahikasowin ositamowawak awasak kakispiwatitwaw. Iwapataman niya,sasipitawit nista ota piyak napis iki opihkihak, iki kipahikasot. Iki mawikatak. Anohc atawiya kakisikahk ikwa moya minihkwiw ikwana,kispin isa kaki ika taminihkwit manitowa titimikot tanisokamakot ika taminihkwit. Ikosi.

English Translation

Well, I will talk about children, how they are raised today, it is true they don't listen. It is because they do not get a lickin' the whiteman has stopped this, if a person even gives a little paddling the children are taken away. Well this is the way it happens children don't listen, they will do everything. Young men and young women do the same, they walk at night, they don't listen to their parents, not even their dad and then when they do this they usually end up in court. The parents then raise bail to get them out, they won't quit, these children, as they grow older, they go out and get into trouble again. It is because they are bailed out, this is why they don't listen today. The way my grandchildren are raised, my grandchildren are also behaving

this way. It is true my own children listened to me because the discipline I use is the way I was raised and disciplined. One does not talk when I ask him to do something for me, if one talks then I take a willow and give him/her a lickin'. They would jump up when I asked for help, it was the same for me when I was growing up, I couldn't talk if my mom or dad told me to work or else I would get a lickin'. If I didn't get up right away if my dad asked me to do something, I couldn't sit for long I had to get up right away, this is the way I was raised. As for today, these children, the ones I raise, my grandchildren, the parents speak up for their children, my own children, they take their siblings' and childrens'part. This is not right, it is like we are directing them to a fire when they speak up for them. I love my grandchildren, I still punish them with a whip because I don't want to direct them to a fire, I want to move them away from the eternal fire. This is what I was told, if I didn't listen when I die I burn and I will burn forever. I used to try to behave because even if I have a small burn it hurts just think of a big fire, to be in it for a long time, it is your spirit not our life here but when we die our spirit will burn which is why a person is told about these things. "Don't get into everything", this is my teaching, my grandchildren don't listen although I teach them, it is true they may stand still for a moment and smile but they do not do anything, they don't pick up something to work at like moosehide or meat for drying. We used to make pemmican as we sat, when I was young I made pemmican, I was given a stick to use. A small axe was used to shape a board, this type, it wasn't a board though it was a small tree, a wet tree is what I used, my grandfather helped me so I wouldn't use a small axe. It was a small axe which was used to make pemmican, my grandfather taught me well which is why I do things right when I do them. This is why I teach my grandchildren to make moccasins as well as hide although this is disappearing today. My grandchildren did not learn to make hide, all my sons were taught, they all helped to make moosehide right to the finished product. Then when it is their turn they don't teach their children these things, it would have been nice if children were good listeners today. It is because parents speak up for them they don't persist enough when they ask them to work, they are too busy taking their children's part, this is not right. To go to jail is what we teach children when we take their part. I see that myself, I have one son who I raised and he wouldn't listen, he went to jail. I cried when he went. As for today he doesn't drink, I hope he never drinks again for the the lord to give him strength to help him stop drinking.

Story # 2

Cree Version

Ikosi itokwiy nikacimison, nikacimison ikosi ikwa, kapi

awasiwiyan tikwiy kawi-atotaman itayisko ikiskisiyan. Kikway mana iki totaman oma kawi micisoyan iki nitaw wawiyan mana. Ikwa mina ikota sipiy, maskotiw sipiy isikatik takawikiyak kaskikwak mana ikota tatapakwaskwawayakwaw man inikinosiwak. Ikwa namistikokiyak ikwa ninan. Iponamak ikwa ikota aya ikaskapasotwaw kinosiwak. Kawasiwiyak ikonima isko mitoni iyati misikitiyak. Ikwa nipapa mana aya iki wiciwayak osi ipimsikat nipapa ikwa kapaskotwaw sisipak nimtaw ipimiskat ikwa inatakasamokit, ikwa atim aya iwiciwayak ikwa mana iyati otitinayakwaw sisipak. Ikosisi iki isi pimacihikoyak nipapa. Ikwa mina mana iki nitaw wawiyak iwiciwayak nipapa ipimatakayak, kispin ika osi kapacitat nipapa ikwa ipimatakayak, "kanitaw wawanawaw ikwa", piko tanitaw wawiyak wiya ikosi itikawiyak. Ikwa mana iki takona ayakway askihkosak, ah kisinapiw awa nisimis, iko, iko mana iki wiciwak. Ikwa mina mostoswa nipapa kayawat iki maskosikiyak man mina wiscikanisa, ikwa mistik ohci iki cipokotak nipapa mistik ikwa ikonima ikwa cistaskosowakan pamasowipahamak. Ikwa mina moya ta-apiyak takwiyahoyak. Ikwa mana akawayisihk awa nisimis iki nahapayhot mana awa kisinapiw. Ikwa mana ikoti iki notintoyak akawayihk ika nipapa tawapimikoyak, wiya ika aya wiya tanocihikawiyak wiwi mana iyayapiht niya ikwa nikisowasin ipiyakwatoskiyan. Ikwa mana oma kipon-notintoyaki casamina mana imatatoskiyahk akawayihk oma wiya tanocihikawiyahk. Iki kostayahk mana nipapanan. Ikwa mina kanitaw twoyipiyahk oma inisiyahk moyo itohkwiy osam ayaman wiya iki misikiht iki nipayi nisosiht mina mana, ika mana kinwis iki twoyipiht mosci cikawayahk miskwami mostosak taminihkwitwaw. Ikwa ipakicipwipinayakwaw ikwa initaw mana tanitaw minahisotwaw. Ikosisi iki isi atoskahikawiyahk nipapa initaw nocicikit ninan ikwa nimamanan inisokamowayahk kawasiwiyahk. Kapohk oma ikwanima mina katotaman nipapa mana aya, wiy kinwis mana iki sipwitiht inikoyiyahk ikwa mana iyayitawipocikiyahk awa nisimis. Iki kinok mana kiskipocikan ohtaw ikotowak kayayitawipocikihk mosci pocikiyahk. Ikohta mina mana pihta iki notintoyahk kispin oma iwayisitat ika sohki iyocipitahk ikwanima aya kiskipocikan, nistosin mana kispin ika sohki kocipitahk. Ikota mana ikwa pihta iki notintoyahk asa mina mana ikwa kinotintoyaki asa mina ikispocimihtiyahk, wiya tanocihikawiyahk nimamanan mina nikostanan tanocihikoyahk ika nikotiyahki. Kati sikwak ikwa mina mana oma ikwa mina mana nipapa kwanita aya ipikopicikit mana kwayakakamihk. Ikwa mana ika ohci miwitaman wiya kapakitinkiyan oma mina miwci mana niya tahki iki tipwatikawiyan. Ikwa iyawasiwiyahk oma nisimis ipakitinkiyahk kwayask mina tapakitinkiyahk. Ikosisi iki isi opihkihikawiyahk ikoni lapatakwa, otisikana, natohk kway mana nipapa iki pakitinahk. Ipaskopicickiyahk ikwa oma katopihkihkwaw macikwanasa, ikwa wiya mana iki ayahikit nisimis. Ikosisi iki isi opihkikawiyahk, nipapa iki isi opihkikoyahk. Moya ninan ikosi ata oma ikwa ipamihisoyahk, moya ninan nikotwaw kikway mostoswak nitayawananahk wistawaw oki nisimisak. Ata iki witamakoyahk nipapa kistawaw otawasimisiyiko tayawayikwaw mostoswak moya ikwayikohk katawanawaw kikway, tanisokamakoyihk ikwa tapakitinkiyik ika takitimiyik. Kaki wiyatawiya nipakinitinkanan tatwaskiy maka wiyawaw nisimisak namoya, namoya ikosisi namoya ikwaykohk, ikosisi isi pamihisowak. Ikwa mina mana oma nipapa apiw kawaskankit piyaki, piyakipitayakwaw micosak nisokamowayak iyawasiwiyahk. Kakiyahikway iki aya soskwac atoskahikawiyak iyawasiwiyahk. Nisimisak mina namoya niya piko. Nimama wista mana askaw ikipinisokamakiht asci mina mana kotak kikway nimama ikiskinahamowit pahkwisikanikiyan. Topayicikiyan, tanisi tisi pakatakohkiyan kakiyakikway ikosisi ikiskinahamowit. Ikwa nipapa asci ikiskinahamowit kikway. Miwci mana niya ayawak iki atoskahikawiyan iki ititaman. Ikwa mina mana kanistosiyan iki kimocimatoyan mana iyawasiwiyan. Ikwa mina oma kasamikawiyahk mana kamicisoyahk iki mihcitwaw nisimisak, mihcit iwanihayakwaw, iwasakamipiyahk mana kispin awiyak tamitawit apiw ikosi tapit isko ponmicisoki kawi ikwa papiyatihk ikwa tamicisot. Moya soskwac iyoci aya ahkam asamiht awas. Kamitawit ayisk ikwa anohc oma awas," how miciso, miciso", itiht namoya. Ika iyasamiht awas mwestas ikwa ahkam miciso ipiyakwapiht apiw. Ikosisi iki isi pamihikowiyahk ika tanotintoyahk, ika tatihoyahk micisoyahki ka-awasiwiyahk. Ikohti oma aya maskotiw sipiy oma katotaman ikota kitatawi awa kisiniw mana iki pi-nitaw wapim iskwiwasit iki nanapatikamipimit mana kwanita mana niya iki siyapitiyan. Ikwa aya ikwi-inisimot oma mana paskac mana iki pi-maci kastipicikit kapi nitaw wapim iskwiwasit. Oti tapaskakan, mihkotapaskakan itapaskahk wah-iwako kaki miyonaman tapaskakan. Ikwa tatawi ikwa aya nipapa oma konapimin ikwa nitihk, kiyoti kitahk, kiyoti konapimin kitahk. Tawiciwat awa imiyotwat nitihk, miwci mistatimwa, tawiciwat awa imiyotwat napiw itwit, kisiniw oma taki-itwit. Ikwa tapwi ikwa kakicowikitoyahk, mohc piyakwaw nito wipintonan asci namoya nito pakamahok. Maka niya mana iki kikamak. Nika kwayki kakikatonan ikwa oma anohc ikitiyayowiwak ikwa, awina tanikanit itohkwiy piko itohkwiy ikosi wiya ikosi isi pitaman, awina tanikanit ipapitaman. Ikwa mina kapi wicitoyahk mokac awiyak ikosi nito pi-itihk napiw tanikanihk. Kispin napiw tanikaniht kaki nika pimitisawaw iki minihkwiskit iki nikaniht. Maka namoya nito pimitisawaw niki ayapin nikihk namoya nito, namoya pakitinaw tanikaniht niki papihaw mana kipami minihkwici. Naywas nicawasimisinanak nika kisi-opihkihananak.

English Translation

Yes, I will tell a story, I will tell about myself, the way I grew as a child I suppose is what I will tell all that I can remember. What I used to do when I wanted to eat is look for eggs. There was a river called the Lubicon and in the fall and spring we would snare fish and make smoked fish. We would make a fire and smoke them and when we were kids we did this until we were almost grown up. We also

used to go with my dad in a boat on the river, when the ducks are moulting my dad would go way out in the lake and chase them to the shore, we also had a dog and we would grab the ducks. That's how my dad provided for us. We would also go and look for eggs and if my dad did not use a boat we would have to wade in the water, if he said to us "go out and look for eggs" we had no choice but to do it. We also used to carry small pails, my sibling "kisinapiw" and I we used to go with my dad. My dad also had cows and we would make hay and piles, I used to use a stick sharpened by my dad that was my fork to use for gathering hay. We had to hurry we couldn't take our time. Out of sight my brother would sit down as soon as my dad wasn't around. Then we would wrestle out of sight so my dad wouldn't see us because if he did we would get a whipping and my brother was good at sitting down and I would have to work alone. Then when we were done wrestling we would begin to work again so we wouldn't get a whipping. We used to be scared of our father. We also used to go together when we had to go and make an ice hole and my brother was small and he was so weak, he couldn't swing the axe too long. The ice hole was for the cows to drink. We would let the cows go and they would take themselves to the ice hole for a drink. That's how my dad taught us to work and when he would go trapping we would have to stay home and help our mom when we were kids. It was in winter too, all of this I have told you, my dad would leave for long periods of time and we would have to use the cross cut saw to provide wood for heat, my brother and I. The saw used to be long, the type used for two people, to use your own power. Here too, we used to wrestle because my brother was good at fooling he would pull the saw easily and I would get tired because he did not use any of his strength. Here too, we used to wrestle then we would stop and cut wood and if my mom saw us she would also give us a whipping especially if we did not cut wood for heat. In the spring my father would plant a great big garden. I did not like this because when we were planting I felt like I was the one being called all the time. We were kids but we had to plant the garden, my sibling and I and we had to do it right. This is the way we were raised, on potatoes, turnips, my father did different types of gardening. We would have to weed when the weeds would sprout out and my brother would have to do the hoeing. This is how we were raised, we were raised this way by my father. We have not done this although we now have our own livelihood, no one in the family has cows, neither one of my siblings. We were told by my father "when you have children you should have cows and you won't spend as much buying, it will help you also if you plant a garden, don't be lazy". We plant a garden every year but none of my other siblings do, they don't live like this, they don't help themselves this way. When my dad did fencing we would peel the posts when we were kids. All of us had to work when we were kids. All of us along with my siblings. My mother would also come and help and she would also teach me other things such as baking bread and bannock. To set yeast, to make stews and other things is what she taught me. My father also taught me many different things. I used to feel like I was the one who did most of the work. When I got tired I used to cry quietly when I was a kid. When we had a meal to sit around and eat I had lots of siblings, many passed away, we sat around and if someone pouted about food then that one would have to sit until we were all finished and sit there to eat alone. If one did this then one would not be fed. The way it is today if someone pouts about food they are just pushed and told "eat, eat". If one is not fed then one will sit and eat quietly. This is the way we were raised, we were told not to wrestle at the table, if we did then we could choke on our food during mealtime. These stories are from the Lubicon area. Then one day my older man used to come and see me and he would wink at me and I would smile and laugh. He won't admit now but he used to show off with his horse when he came to see me. His kerchief, a red kerchief around his neck, that was what I really liked that kerchief. Then one day my dad said to me "You will marry this man", you will I replied, I told him you marry him. "Go with this man, he is a nice, gentle man", he said to me, it was like he was talking about a horse", go with him he is a nice man", he should have told me he was an old man. So it is we got married and we have never separated and he never lifted a hand to hurt me. I used to get upset with him. Today we argue quite a bit now that we are old, perhaps it is because one of us wants to be the head of the household because we hear this being spoken about a lot. When we lived together no one ever came over to tell me the man was the head of the household. If a man was the head then I would have had to follow him around because he liked to drink if he had been the head of the household. I never followed him I always stayed home I did not allow him to be the head, I used to laugh at him when he returned home from drinking. Now, finally our children are all grown up.

Cultural Themes in Josephine Laboucan's Stories

Story #1

1. Anohc awasak kisi-opihkihitwaw mistahi sasipihtamok
Children today are very disobedient because of the way they are raised

W Aya, nika acocasin nista aya awasak oma,
kisi-opihkihitwaw
anohc ikwa, tapwi ayisk isasipihtakwaw
Well, I will talk about children, how they are raised today, it is true they don't listen

V Awasak anohc kisopikihtwaw, namoya nitohtawatwaw onikihikowaw. Mistahi sasipihtamok anohc awasak

The way children are raised today they don't listen to their parents. They are very disobedient children

2. Nicawasimisak mistahi ikispiwatatwaw ocawasimisowawa taspa namoya nitohtamok
My own children stick up for their children too much therefore they don't listen

W Ikwa anohc, oma awasak oki kopihkitwaw nosimak, mistahi ikispiwatatwaw oki ocawasimisowawa, nicawasimisak, osimisowawa mina kopihkihatwaw ikispiwatatwaw
As for today, these children, the ones I raise, my grandchildren, the parents speak up for their children, my own children, they take their siblings' and childrens' part

V Nosimak mina namoya wistawaw nitohtamok. Mistahi ikispiwatitwaw ocawasimisowaw oki nicawasimisak
My grandchildren don't listen either. My children stick up for their children too much

3. Maka tapwi wiya nitawasimisak nitohtakwak wiya tanisi kaki isi opihkihkawiyan ikosis iki isi opihkihawasoyan
It is true my own children listened to me because I have raised my children the way I was raised

W Maka tapwi wiya nista nitawasimsak niki nitohtakwaw wi, tanisi kaki isi opihkihkawiyan ikosisi iki isi opihkihawasoyan. Ika tapiskwit kikway atohtaki

nicawasimis, ika tapikiskwit, kispin kapikiskwit ikosi ipasastiwak, nipisis ohci, wisakastiwak

It is true my own children listened to me because the discipline I use is the way I was raised and disciplined. One does not talk when I ask him/her to do something for me, if one talks then I take a willow and give him/her a lickin'

V Tanisi kaki-is opihkikawiyan ikosi iki isi opihkihawasowyan. Simak tapasihkoyan kikway atohtikawiyani

The way I was raised is the way I have raised my children. I have to get up right away if I am asked to do something

4. Kaya natohk takamikisk iwako niya nikisinamawasowin

Don't get into everything is one of my teachings

W Ika natohk titakamikisit ikonima nikisinamawasowin, mistahi ika initohtakwaw nosimak

"Don't get into everything", this is my teaching, my grandchildren don't listen although I teach them

V Ika natohk titakamikisit awas ikonima nikisinamawasowin

Don't get into everything is one of my teachings for children

5. Natohk iki isi nisokamakiyahk

We were taught to help in many ways

W Iki iwahikik mina iyapik, iyawasiwiyan isko iki iwahikisiyan mana, imikawiyan mistik ta-iwahikiyan
We used to make pemmican as we sat, when I was young I made pemmican, I was given a stick to use

V Iki iwakisiyan mana niya iyawisiwiyan inisokamowak nimosom. Mitoni kwayask ika iki kisinahamakawiyan
I used to make pemmican when I was small to help my grandfather. We were taught well

W Kakiyaw niya ninapisimak iki kisinahamowakwaw oki kakiyaw mana iki nisokamowitwaw ositayani pahkikin, isko kakis pastik
All my sons were taught, they all helped to make moosehide right to the finished product

V Ati ponpayo pahkikinokiwin wiya ika ikisinahamatwaw awasak. Kakiyaw niya ninapisimak iki kisinahamowakwaw
Moosehide tanning is disappearing because children aren't taught. I taught all my boys

6. Pitos wiyawaw isi-opihkihawasowak, moya ikosi isi kisinahamowasowak
Child rearing is different, they don't teach their children the way we did

W Ikwa wiyawaw kopihkihawasotwaw moya, moya ikosisi isi kisinahamamowiwak ocawasimisowawa, kiyapic taki miyosihk anohc iki nanahitakwaw awasak
Then when it is their turn they don't teach their

children these things, it would have been nice if children were good listeners today

V Moya ikwaykohk sihkamowawak awasak kikway titohtakwaw. Moya ikosi wiyawaw isi opikihawasowak
We don't ask or demand of our children enough these days. Children are raised different today

7. Kipahikasowin ositamowawak awasak kakispiwatitwaw
To go to jail is what we teach children when we take their part

W Kipahikasowin ositamowawak awasak kakispiwatitwaw
To go to jail is what we teach children when we take their part

V Ata isakihak nosim nipasastiwaw wiya kipahikasowin ositamowiht awas ika kakitamahat
I love my grandchild but I will discipline him because I don't want him/her to end up in jail

Story #2

1. Mistahi nipapa iki witamakoyahk ikwa iki kisinahamakoyahk tanisi tisi opihkihawasoyahk
My father told us and taught us good work ethics and much about child rearing

W Ikosisi iki isi opihkikawiyahk, nipapa isi opihkikoyahk. Ata iki witamakoyahk nipapa kistawaw otawasimisiyiko tayawayikwaw mostosak moya ikwayikohk katawanawaw kikway, tanisokamakoyihk ikwa tapakitinkiyihk ika takitimiyik

This is how we were raised, we were raised this way by my father. We were told by my father "when you have children you should have cows and you won't spend as much buying, it will help you also if you plant a garden, don't be lazy"

V Kwayask tapakitinkiyahk, kwayask tatoskiyahk ikosi nipapa iki isi opihkihikoyahk. Kistawaw ikosi tisi pimacihoyihk namoya kwaykohk kamistinkanawaw

Plant a good garden and work hard are the things my father taught us as he raised us. He told us to raise our kids this way too because you won't spend as much

2. Ata mistahi iki kisinahamakawiyahk ikwa ikiwitamkawayahk moya nikotwaw mostasak nitayawanahk

We were told and taught by my father yet not one of us have raised cows

W Moya ninan ikosi ata oma ikwa ipamihisoyahk, moya ninan nikotwaw kikway mostosak nitayawananahk wistawaw oki nisimisak

We have not done this although we now have our own livelihood, no one in the family has cows, neither one of my siblings

V Moya ikosi awiyak isi pimacihot oma ninan, namoya nikotwaw mostosak awiyak iyayawat

No one is living the way we were taught, no one has cows

W Kaki wiyatawiya nipakitikanan tatwaskiy maka wiyawaw nisimisak namoya, namoya ikosisi namoya ikwaykohk, ikosisi isi pamihisowak

We plant a garden every year but none of my other siblings do, they don't live like this, they don't help themselves this way

V Ninan wiya kaki nipakitinkanan

We plant a garden every year

3. Kahkiyawiyahk iki mamaw atoskit, kakiyaw iki nisokamatohk mina awasak

Everyone worked together, everyone helped each other even children

W Kahkiyahkway iki soskwac atoskahikawiyahk iyawasiwiyahk. Nisimsak mina namoya niya piko

All of us had to work when we were kids. All of us along with my siblings

V Namoya ta-apiyahk takwiyahoyahk. Kakiyaw kwayask tatoskiyahk wistawaw nisimsak

We had to hurry, we could not sit. We all had to work hard even my younger siblings

4. Nimama asci nipapa iki kisinahamowitwaw mihcit kikway papitos kikway. Nanapo ikikisinahamotwaw

My mother and father taught me many different skills, I learned from both

W Nimama wista mana askaw ikipinisokamakiht asci kotak kikway nimama ikiskinahamowiht pahkwisikanikiyan. Mina mana topayicikiyan, tanisi tisi pakatakohkiyan kakiyakikway ikosisi ikiskinahamowiht

My mother would also come and help and she would also teach me other things such as baking bread and bannock. To set 'yeast, to make stews and other things is what she taught me

V Asci mina nimama kotak kikway iki kisinahamowiht asci nipapa wista

My mother also taught me many different things as well as my father

5. Ikwa mana kanistosiyan iki kimocimatoyan

When I was tired I used to cry quietly

W Ikwa mina mana kanistosiyan iki kimocimatoyan mana iyawasiwiyan

When I got tired I used to cry quietly when I was a kid

V Kanistosiyan mana iki kimocimatoyan

When I was tired I used to cry

6. Kispin awiyak tamitawit apiw ikosi tapit isko ponmicisoki kawi ikwa papiyatihk ikwa tamicisot

Long ago, if someone pouted about food then one would have to sit alone and eat later

W Ikwa mina oma kasamikawiyahk mana kamicisoyahk iki mihcitwaw nisimisak, mihcit iwanihayakwaw, iwasakamipiyahk mana kispin awiyak tamitawit apiw ikosi tapit isko ponmicisoki kawi ikwa papiyatihk ikwa tamicisot

Whenever we had a meal, I had lots of siblings, many passed away, we sat around and if someone pouted about food then that one would have to sit until we were all finished and sit there to eat alone

V Ika iyasamiht awas kamihtawiht mwestas ikwa ipiyakomihtsoht piyatihk apiw

If a child pouts then the child should eat later all alone

W Moya soskwac iyoci aya ahkam asamiht. Kamitawit ayisk ikwa anohc oma awas, "how miciso, miciso" itiht namoya. Ika iyasamiht awas mwestas ikwa ahkam miciso ipiyakwapiht apiw.

If one did this then one would not be fed. The way it is today if someone pouts they are just pushed and told "eat, eat"

V Namoya soskwac ohci asamaw awas kispin imihtawiht anohc ayisk wiya ikosi

Long ago one who pouts about food wasn't fed but today this is what happens

7. Iki kostayahk nipapanan asci nimamanan
We were scared of our mom and dad

W Iki kostayahk mana nipapanan, wiya tanocihikawiyahk nimamanan mina nikostanan tanocihikoyahk ika nikotayahki
We used to be scared of our father and my mom would give us a whipping if we did not cut wood for heat

V Iki kostayahk nipapa asci nimama wiya tanocihikawiyahk
We used to be scared of my dad and mom because we would get whippings

8. Nipapa iwitamowit "konapimin ikwa, tawiciwat awa napiw imiyotwat
My father told me "You will marry this man, go with this man he is a nice, gentle man"

W Ikwa tatawi ikwa aya nipapa oma konapimin ikwa nitihk, tawiciwat awa imiyotwat nitihk
Then one day my dad said to me "You will marry this man", go with this man, he is a nice, gentle man"

V Nipapa itwit tonapimowak tawiciwat awa imiyohtwat isiht nipapa
My dad told me to marry this man because he was nice and gentle

9. Aspin kakicowikitoyahk mohkac nito wipintonan asci mohkac nito pakamahok

Since we have been married we have never separated and he never lifted a hand to hurt me

W Ikwa tapwi ikwa kakicowikitoyahk, mohc piyakwaw nito wipintonan asci namoya nito pakamahok

So it is we got married and we have never separated and he never lifted a hand to hurt me

V Namohc piyakwaw nito wipintonan asci namoya nito pakamahok

We have never separated and he has never hit me

10. Mistahi ipitamahk anohc awina tanikaniht waskahikanihk taspwa mistahi nikakikatonan awina tanikaniht

We hear a lot of talk about who should be head of the household today therefore we argue a lot about who should be the head

W Nika kwayki kakikatonan ikwa oma anohc ikitiyayowiyahk ikwa, awina tanikaniht itohkwiy piko itohkwiy ikosi wiya ikosi isi pitaman, awina tanikaniht ipapitaman

Today we argue quite a bit now that we are old, perhaps it is because one of us wants to be the head of the household because we hear this being spoken about a lot

V Anohc ikwa nika kihkatonanan awina tanikaniht, pokitohtkwiy ikosi wiya isi pihtamahk

Today we argue a lot about who should be head of the household because this is what we hear consistently

Summary and Validation of Themes in Josephine Laboucan's Stories

My validation visit with Edward and Josephine happened on the same day. Josephine was happy to see us and she chatted a bit about her daughter Lillian who is a close friend of mine. I asked about her and how she was doing and whether they expected her to drop in and see them on that day.

Josephine's stories centered around child-rearing and her own experiences growing up. Both stories are related and tie together. The first story is basically an introduction to the topic of child-rearing and the second story talks about her own experiences growing up and what she learned from her parents about life and child-rearing.

Josephine starts with a discussion about how children of today do not listen to their parents. She attributes this to the discipline practices used today with children. She feels that we do not ask our children to do enough and that the areas of skill development in areas such as moosehide tanning and preserving of foods is no longer taught to young people. She told me her own grandchild cannot even thread a needle today although she has learned to sew a little bit. She said all of her boys know how to stretch a hide especially her eldest son Michael. He also knows how to bead and make socks. He taught his own wife how to do this. Josephine continues on to say they were taught to sew and it's nice to sit quietly and sew because it keeps you away from other behaviors.

She reinforces this theme with statements which note that some of the child rearing practices or lack of discipline harm children. She states that when parents stick up for their children they won't listen. At our visit she confirmed that children raised this way will even fight their own siblings. She goes on to say when we stick up for our children or take their part for something they have done wrong all we are doing is making a jail sentence for them. She says she loves her grandchild but she will discipline him because she doesn't want him to go to jail.

Josephine talks about how she raised her own children and she learned child rearing from her parents. She used a willow when her children refused to get up to follow a request and she remembers this is how she was disciplined. In story two she tells us she was afraid of her parents and their method of discipline and therefore all the chores were completed and expectations followed. She told me at the validation visit if children were raised with these discipline practices children would be different today. One of Josephine's teachings is to tell children "Don't get into everything".

Certainly child-rearing has changed. Parents of today have not used the practices they were taught by their own parents. Josephine notes that when it is their turn to teach their children these things they fail to do so. Sadly she tells us it would have been nice if children were good listeners today.

In the second story Josephine tells us that her own father had taught them many skills and had asked them to pass these along to their own children. He asked all of his kids to garden and farm to cut down living costs. Josephine tells us the only thing she and her husband do every year is plant a big garden but no one in the family has raised cows.

Josephine shares some of the ways families worked together with a number of examples. Everyone in the family worked even the little ones and when Dad was away trapping, it was the responsibility of the older kids to help maintain the house until Dad got home.

She also learned early which behaviors were unacceptable. She was taught to discipline her own behaviors and therefore she cried out of sight if she was tired. She said "I worked so hard I cried". She learned it was unacceptable to pout at the kitchen table. Today children are not disciplined for this behavior.

Josephine tells us her father helped to choose the man she would marry. She talks a bit about how the relationship started between Edward and herself. She adds that she and Edward have never separated nor has he ever raised a hand to hurt her. At my visit she noted that parents often made decisions for young people. Sometimes it worked. She told me I have a friend who married a man for only four months just to please her dad.

To conclude Josephine talks about how society influences us with statements made publicly. She notes that she and Edward now have disagreements based on the statement that one of them must be the head of the household. She says she never had this problem until she heard about this idea. She reinforced this at our visit by saying we learn from what we hear. She said if her and Edward hadn't heard that statement they may not have learned it. She concludes with the statement " We learn from observing and remembering. To observe is to learn".

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Key cultural themes of Cree Elders

The aim of this study was to find key cultural themes of Cree elders in stories told to children. It is important to note the definition of story from the elders is taken in context from the word "acimow" which means to talk about or to tell about. For the elders this may be a narrative but is still considered a story. To identify common themes from all the stories, I used a similar process of analysis to that for individual elders. I read and reread the collection of themes from all the stories and proceeded to cross reference and develop general categories. I found six common themes which were reinforced in some manner by the storytellers. The themes listed in this concluding chapter had to have the support of at least two of the storytellers to be included. For one of the themes, all five storytellers discussed and supported it. For another four storytellers provided support. I will also relate these general themes to the literature presented in Chapter two.

The first theme is "respect and desire to maintain the Cree way of life." Joe Logan and Edward Laboucan were the storytellers who supported this theme. A number of different authors quoted in Chapter two, Smallboy, Auger and Lightning (Meili, 1991), who feel this is an essential part of being Cree and the close connection to mother earth is a gift from the Creator. Edward talks about this quite a bit in his stories. He tells about how Cree people have learned from nature and it is a part of their being and one should strive to maintain it. He expresses his disappointment with his own community and how the people have not followed this way of life. He also discusses the strength of this way of life farther north and how he believes it has helped to maintain a healthy lifestyle. Joe Logan starts his first story with a strong emphasis on asking the young people to maintain and hold onto the Cree way of life because it was meant for them. He tells the young people not to throw away this kind of life to follow non-native ways.

The second theme is one which was supported by all five storytellers. The theme is "respect for teachings from elders and parents." Reference to this theme is made by a number of the storytellers. Spiritual teachings and events which are not understood are questions for the elders. The elders were meant to pass on teachings to the young people, but unfortunately lack of respect for this type of teaching occurs today. The elders were always respected teachers because of their many varied experiences. Louise discusses this in her story and concludes if one is planning to offer advice to an elder then one has to be careful and use tact. Discipline practices from parents were tough but respected. Children knew the importance of following through with expected behaviors because the use of the willow was enforced. If a child was told to work then that is what took place. Many skills were taught to young people by elders and parents.

"The importance of good work ethics" is indirectly reinforced by many of the storytellers but only two make direct reference to this theme. Joe and Josephine talk about it in their stories but Josephine deals with it in a different manner from Joe. She tells us about the work she was expected to do as a small child and she refers to the fact that everyone helped out even Mom and the smaller siblings. Joe points this out as a key theme for the young boys who were his audience. He stresses the need for good work ethics if one is going to do well in life. Abbie Burnstick (Meili, 1991) talks about the special talent and special work we are all meant to do. She notes as Cree people it is important to be busy doing what it was we were meant to do.

"The positive and negative ends of child rearing" was another theme which was well supported by the storytellers. Noel, Josephine, Edward and Joe all talk about child rearing and how it has changed from the way it was. Edward and Noel both talk about the expected behaviors they learned as children and discuss the expectations set out for them by adults. Josephine talks about negative ends of poor child rearing and how this is destroying our children today. She discusses the way she was brought up and how this has helped her with her own child rearing. Joe counsels the boys regarding the type of behaviors they should exhibit and ones they should stay away from. I noted this theme of child rearing is related to literature on the extended family and the importance of pride. Children are taught early to do things to the best of their ability and refrain from "tooting their own horns". In the extended family situation the child is reprimanded by various members of the family regardless of whether or not they are parents of the child. This is changing and most parents today resent the use of extended family pressures to help keep children in line.

"Hunting and trapping was a way of life," Noel and Josephine both talk about this in their stories. Joe and Edward talk about the bush way of life which includes hunting and trapping. Josephine tells about the expectations placed on her and her little brother because their father was away trapping for extended periods of time. Noel was on a hunting and trapping trip in his story. He talks about being alone for long periods of time because he had to take care of his traps. Noel also deals with spirituality but because he was the only elder to do so I could not present it as a common theme. In reference to the different types of stories told, it is clear these are acimowina rather than atoyokiwina.

The last theme is "stay away from disrespectful and undesirable behavior", which is supported by Joe, Louise and

Josephine. Josephine talks about how lack of discipline promotes undesirable behavior and how it affects children as they grow. She also mentions the lack of respect children have for their parents and elders today. Louise notes that lack of concentration is of our own doing and could influence how we do our work. Joe makes direct reference to undesirable behaviors such as theft, drugs, alcohol and breaking and entering in his story and how much it bothers him that young people today are indulging in these behaviors. In chapter two Abbie Burnstick (Meili, 1991) talks about how stories were used to teach expected behaviors and to change undesirable ones. We know today that storytelling is disappearing in Cree communities and television is very much a part of the storytelling world of Cree children. The stories told on television are very different, cater to a wide audience and are not told for a specific reason as Cree stories were and still are today.

Implications for Researchers

The key ingredients for a study such as the one I have undertaken are clear expectations, shared translations, and meaningful interpretation. There must be clear expectations set out and communicated to the elders for the type of material required. This may not have been clear enough for Louise because it was obvious from our discussions based on the validation of her stories she had a lot to share and this was clearly counselling for the youth.

The funny stories she told were meant to entertain and make people laugh and this was her purpose for telling the stories.

Shared translations and meaningful interpretation are also key ingredients. As people we interpret information based on our own experiences and environment. This is an interactionist point of view and as Morrison and Wilson (1988) state I would not have been as successful in interpretation and translation if I was from a different cultural group or if I had been raised in a different environment than the elders. It was important to choose the elders from my own area to interpret and translate the information as closely as I could to the intended meaning. The themes would have been more difficult to generate if I had chosen elders from the south rather than the north.

Rapport and a connection to the elders is also very important to this type of study because of the nonverbal discourse patterns one has to interpret. To be able to do this accurately one has to know the nonverbal cues of the storytellers. If one does not know the storytellers then the intended message could be misinterpreted.

For Educators

From the work I have completed there are several implications I will highlight. Translation and interpretation of language are means of communication and happen regardless of the target language used. Although the target language used was also my own mother tongue and I was from the same cultural group and the same environment as the elders I worked with, it was evident I needed to check and recheck my interpretation and translation to confirm for meaning. If one is expected to check for understanding in the same target language then it is twice as important in cross cultural situations especially in classroom teaching. It is important to check and recheck for understanding of content or instructions with the students. This, along with rapport is key to successful teaching.

In the area of language development it was surprising and enlightning to find myself intuitively translating the English into Cree language patterns. I was unaware of this until my advisor pointed this out to me. I struggled initially to try to form good English sentences from Cree and it did not seem to work. For teachers who work with Cree students it may be to their benefit to check whether students are doing this in their writing. It is difficult to change unless one works consistently on language development and practice with reading and writing. I know as a bilingual person I have to think in a specific mind set to achieve the expected goal. I am more successful when my self talk is clear about the expectations set before me and if I am aware of how I must adjust my own mind set before I start.

In the field of curriculum development especially for people who work with language teaching it is very important to work from the target language (Cree) rather than the translation language (English) if one is striving for good language teaching. Language patterns are so different, it would be ineffective to work from English language patterns to teach Cree. It defeats the purpose if one works from the translating language to encourage the development of a target language. The language patterns also carry an unspoken message in the pauses and intonation and are a part of the total communication process. This would be left out if one tries to fit a target language into a translating language pattern. The intended meaning changes very quickly.

The intent and purpose of the study was to bring together a number of teachings which are important to Cree people. The teachings are still a part of Cree culture and the elders who are alive and well today are waiting to share this information with the young people. Unfortunately the lessons and teachings are not being passed along as they were long ago because the youth of today are failing to seek out this information. If we are to maintain some of our strong values and beliefs of traditional Cree culture then we need to make use of this very important human resource.

The work I have completed could be used as a resource for Cree language and culture programs. The videotapes and the written transcriptions contain valuable Cree information. I have also used segments of the tapes at workshops for adults and cross cultural workshops for teachers.

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